BOOK ARTS IN THE RENAISSANCE

Selections from the
Van Kampen Collection

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The Van Kampen Collection is an actively growing private collection of Bibles and biblical-ly related materials which was founded in the mid-1980s. The collection is housed at *The Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities* of Grand Haven, Michigan, a museum and research center emphasizing biblical scholarship and the textual transmission of the Bible. This exhibition has been produced in conjunction with the Muskegon Museum of Art as one of more than fifty events throughout Western Michigan comprising *The Grand Renaissance Celebration of Art, Culture and Growth.*

T. Sidney Tibbetts with Timothy Graham

INTRODUCTION

Although the adage "Don't miss the forest for the trees" may be cliché, it applies very well to our perception of the Renaissance period. While it is tempting to focus on the accomplishments of a few resplendent individuals, the true boundaries of the Renaissance 'forest' are not easily defined and are best viewed from a distance. It is extremely difficult to attempt any temporal delineation of an intellectual and cultural phenomenon. However, beginning in the fifteenth century, several identifiable forces began to redirect the basic currents of medieval society, and the ensuing changes set the stage for a new and modern culture.

The intellectual driving force of the Renaissance was the rise of humanist thought. Rooted in the late fourteenth century, humanism reached its apex in the writings of the Dutch scholar, Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1459–1536). In addition, the expansion of trade routes throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, and the rise of both a middle class and a wealthy banking community, provided an economic basis for increased patronage of learning and the arts. When printing by movable type was invented in the mid-fifteenth century, both the intellectual and economic infrastructures were in place for the new technology to succeed.

Johannes Gutenberg's moveable type printing press enabled books to be mass produced for the first time, thus facilitating more rapid dissemination of ideas. Previously, all books had been copied by hand — first in monasteries and ecclesiastical settings and later in stationers' shops in commercial centers. Printing helped to shape the Renaissance world by dispersing information to a wider audience.

The Art of Printing

Some understanding of medieval book-production is helpful when considering early printed books, because printing in no way instituted an immediate break with all medieval traditions.[1] The hand-written, early medieval book was generally an institutional possession. Access to books in the medieval world was largely restricted to clerics and to the nobility, for book ownership presupposed both literacy and considerable financial resources. Prior to the widespread use of paper, vellum and parchment (specially-prepared animal hides) were used as writing surfaces; inks and pigments were made from costly minerals and organic materials which often had to be procured from great distances. Books were painstakingly produced in four stages: the text was copied out, titles and headings were inserted by a rubricator, decoration was added by an illuminator (depending on the book and the wealth of the patron), and finally, the book was bound. In the later Middle Ages, commercial scribes drew up contracts with patrons detailing the particular texts and style of scripts desired in each book. Illumination and binding — both costly and labor-intensive — required separate contracts and craftsmen. In the fifteenth century, lay ownership of books began to expand with the rising level of literacy and the popularity of private devotional books. Depictions of books and readers of books increasingly appeared in Renaissance paintings.[2]

Printing gradually changed medieval concepts of books and libraries; the Renaissance book came to be seen as a private possession, and laymen assembled extensive private libraries. By the second half of the fifteenth century, three of the four stages of medieval book

production — writing, rubricating, and illumination — had been compressed into one; binding was still the prerogative of the purchaser. Large-format books such as Bibles began to be printed in smaller, more portable forms. Although printing made books accessible to more people, the purchaser lost his direct participation in the layout and decoration of the book.

It was between 1450 and 1500 that much of the transition from manuscript book to printed book took place. Books printed before 1500 are known by the Latin term *incunabula*, as they come from the 'cradle' or beginning of printing. The term was first used by Bernard von Mallinckrodt in 1639, nearly two hundred years after the first incunabulum was printed in Germany.[3] The early printers of incunabula came from all walks of life: Johannes Gutenberg was a goldsmith, Johannes Bämler an artist, Gunther Zainer a scribe, Jodocus Pflanzmann a lawyer, and Heinrich Eggestein a scholar. Although the earliest incunabula are unsigned and undated, printers soon took ownership of their work by printing colophons stating their name, the date, and the location of their press. The relative anonymity of the medieval scribe was soon replaced with the individualized identity of the printer. At first, printers of these early books were dedicated to scholarly and artistic aesthetics, but they soon realized the value of printing for the populace. The printer's art maintained a delicate balance between personal aesthetic and popular demand.[4]

Contemporary views on these innovative printed books varied. The speed, volume, and relative economy of printed books aroused wonder and astonishment. Some viewed printing suspiciously, as a black and mysterious art. Several book collectors would have absolutely nothing to do with these 'cheap' printed books and continued hiring scribes.[5] One can well imagine what scribes thought of the new invention, but some, like Zainer, decided to join the crowd they could not beat. On the other hand, some surviving library lists show that printed books were shelved amongst manuscripts with no differentiation between printed and written texts.[6]

The mechanics of printing are complicated, but in general, the proper operation of a printing press required one master printer, two compositors, two printers, an ink maker, and a pressman.[7] Printers depended on typefonts with which to print the text, and as a result, the typecaster was an important figure in the printshop. S. H. Steinberg estimates that Anton Koberger, the prolific fifteenth-century Nuremberg printer, may have operated up to 24 presses and employed over 100 workers at the height of his business, and these figures do not take into account the work he commissioned from his partners in Basle, Lyon, and Strasburg.[8] By the end of the fifteenth century, even a small printing firm could be expected to have had four presses running concurrently.

Some books, particularly luxury editions, were printed on vellum, but the majority were printed on the more economical alternative — paper. Paper was made from pulped linen on wire meshes (called deckles) of about 70 × 50 inches. When well cared for, this high-quality paper retains its soft cream color much better than acidic nineteenth- or twentieth-century paper. The size of a book was determined by the number of times each paper sheet was folded after printing. One fold produced a large, somewhat cumbersome folio edition. For a quarto edition, the compositor carefully set out four pages of text on each side of the

sheet so that it could be folded twice before being cut to produce a four-leaf (eight-page) gathering. An octavo edition was folded yet again, producing a gathering of eight leaves (sixteen pages).

The Art of Decoration

The printed leaves of books were usually packed into barrels and sent off to booksellers in other cities for the purchasers to bind and decorate as they pleased. Some printers, however, such as Johannes Fust of Mainz and Gunther Zainer of Augsburg, sent several copies of their books to a particular illuminator who decorated those copies in a similar style before it was sold.[9] Whether the printer or the purchaser of the book sent it to be decorated, the process of completion was in essence no different than that of manuscripts: the book had to be rubricated, and initials had to be painted in.

As a rule, the first printed books were made to look as much like manuscripts as possible, sometimes even to the point of drawing ruling and bounding lines on the printed pages. Many incunabula have elaborately painted display pages, usually at major textual divisions. Bibles, for instance, were decorated most often at the beginning of St. Jerome's *Frater Ambrosius* preface to the Pentateuch, the beginning of Genesis, and the beginning of the second volume (if there was one), which is usually Proverbs. The painted decoration typically took the form of frondy acanthus scrolls running along three margins; these were sometimes punctuated with flowers and animals. The acanthus decoration found in incunabula was generally more sedate than much of the rinceaux marginal decoration found in late medieval manuscripts, particularly in those from France and Flanders. Italian incunabula were more often decorated with inhabited white-vine ornamentation that formed a complete rectangular frame around the text block.

Printers soon began to incorporate decorative elements in the printing process itself. The earliest printed decoration was in the form of woodcuts carved in relief — wooden blocks from which the artist cut away those areas he did not want to appear on the printed page. By the end of the fifteenth century, artists began to create wood and copperplate engravings which were more durable and allowed for finer detail than woodcuts.

Woodcuts and illuminations in early Renaissance books were intended primarily to illustrate and decorate the text, not to be sublime expressions of individuality and artistic genius. The ideological shift towards more modern perceptions of art began as artists such as Leon Battista Alberti, author of a treatise entitled "On Painting" (1435), began to examine theoretical issues of painting, but theoretical approaches to art did not gain much momentum until the sixteenth century. With the exception of a few who were able to break free of the guild and workshop system, most Renaissance artists perceived painting as a craft pursued for profit, a profession, and they received the same training and used the same materials as medieval artists before them. Painting was intended to decorate utilitarian objects — such as shields, saddles, furniture, and books — as much as anything else. As in the Middle Ages, art was commissioned by wealthy patrons, and each piece was made to order in a strict system of patronage. By the fifteenth century, painters and illuminators held about the same

rank in society as goldsmiths, tailors, and shoemakers; like other craftsmen, they owned land but generally did not grow wealthy from their trade.[10]

In theory, the workshop environment permitted no private artistic ownership; illuminations and paintings attributed to one master artist are almost certainly the work of several hands. Masters had assistants and apprentices who performed tedious or menial tasks in order to develop their craft. In pictures of artists at work, an apprentice is often visible in the background grinding or mixing pigments for his master. Beginning in their early teens, apprentices received several years of hands-on training with the goal of 'mastering' their teacher's style. On the whole, individuality was discouraged. The master usually designed and sketched out the work and performed the most demanding details; he, of course, received all the credit and most of the profit. In books, the master may have illuminated the display pages, leaving initials to be painted in by others. Before becoming masters in their own right, many painters and illuminators traveled long distances looking for work and studying the styles of other regions. These traveling artists were one source for the dissemination of artistic styles.[11]

The Exhibition

Because scribes continued to hand-write books for patrons well into the sixteenth century, both manuscript books and incunabula have been chosen for this exhibition. Early incunabula are sometimes difficult to differentiate from manuscripts because many of the finishing touches, such as decoration, folio numbering, and headings, were added by hand. In selecting books to represent the book arts in the Renaissance, we have taken into account not only the painted and woodcut decoration but also the shape and style of the fonts required to print several languages.

Any exhibition of incunabula is bound to show a concentration of German and Italian books, which is perhaps as it should be, because together these two printing powerhouses produced more incunabula than all other countries combined. German influence, of course, is understandable as the art of printing was developed in Strasburg and Mainz and spread quickly throughout the German confederacy. The earliest typefonts imitated Gothic script, and these fonts were used in Germany into the twentieth century. Surprisingly, Adolf Rusch of Strasburg may have been the first printer to use a roman font (a font imitating the humanistic script which are the letter forms we use today). A rubricated copy of Durandus printed by Rusch in a roman font is dated 1464; Rusch was certainly using roman types by 1467, the same year in which the first dated example appeared in Italy.[12] Furthermore, the first press in Italy was established in 1465, when German printers Arnold Pannartz and Conrad Sweynheym set up shop in Subiaco, a monastery near Rome. Italy's next most notable printer was Nicholas Jenson, a Frenchman who had learned the art of printing in Germany and had settled in Venice, and who went on to develop beautiful roman fonts in the 1470s. Italy was the center of European humanism, the center of the Church, and a center of trade, banking, and commerce. The intellectual and material wealth of Italy facilitated the development of a strong printing industry which was further encouraged by the success of printers such as Aldus Manutius and Gerson Soncino. Italian printers pioneered italic type and page num-

bering with Arabic numerals.[13] Their books are often decorated with framed woodcuts and geometric decoration based on Islamic and Byzantine artistic motifs that had been introduced to Italy by refugees from Constantinople.[14]

When contrasted with German and Italian incunabula, the first English books seem much more primitive. English printers used thicker paper and larger types; they included few decorative borders, and their woodcuts are quaint and inexpert. The first English press was not established until 1476, but even in 1500 many English books looked more medieval than continental books of the 1470s. Part of the delay may be attributed to strict ecclesiastical regulation of biblical translations, but in fact, not even a Latin Bible was printed in England before 1534. Nevertheless, the incunabula printed by William Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and their contemporaries are now rare and valuable items.[15]

The fifteenth century was clearly a period of transition, though it is sometimes difficult to determine which elements are continuations of medieval trends and which are innovations of a later age. The Renaissance period is something of a contradiction, as parts of the society were intent on re-inventing a glorious past, while others were developing trade, banking, commerce, and city states, and were discovering new lands. As a result, interpretations of the Renaissance vary depending on whether the viewer is from the medieval or early modern camp. In any case, the Middle Ages did not end with the printing press; medieval ideas and traditions continued to influence Renaissance society and only gradually lost their sway.[16]

Sidney Tibbetts
26 October, 1997

[1] C. de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1991) provides a very helpful overview of the period.
[2] See Jan van Eyck's painting of Chancellor Rolin kneeling with a private devotional before the Madonna. Hans Memlinc portrays three books in his painting of the Virgin and Child with the saints: a lady in waiting reads one, another is being held for the Virgin to read, and a third in a chemise binding rests beside the portatif organist. Robert Campin's Merode Altarpiece depicts the Annunciation in a fifteenth-century room. Mary, seemingly oblivious to the angel beside her, reads intently from a book wrapped in a chemise cover; another book and a scroll lie open on the table. All three paintings are reproduced in A. Martindale, *The Rise of the Artist* (London, 1972), pp 62, 118, 128.
[3] S. H. Steinberg. *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London, 1935; revised 1996), p. 3.
[4] Froben of Basle and Caxton of Westminster are particularly good examples. Froben went to great lengths to produce accurate and well-decorated books, while Caxton catered his publications to the tastes of the nobility. See C. W. Heckethorn, *The Printers of Basle* (London, 1897). For Caxton, see especially E. Hodnet *English Woodcuts: 1480-1535* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 1–7.
[5] For example, the Italian collector Federigo da Montefelfro would not allow a printed book to enter his house, even in the 1480s. See C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1986), p. 242.
[6] P. Saenger and M. Heinlen, 'Incunable Description and Its Implication for the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Reading Habits' in S. Hindman, ed., *Printing the Written Word* (Ithaca and London, 1991), p. 235. My thanks to Paul Saenger for drawing

my attention to the practice of shelving incunabula with manuscripts at the Erfurt Charterhouse.
[7] K. Haebler, *The Study of Incunabula* (New York, 1933), pp. 77–8.
[8] S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 25.
[9] On Fust's illuminator, see E. König 'Illuminated Incunabula in the Doheney Library' in *The Estelle Doheney Collection*, Vol. 1, (New York, 1987) pp. 285–302 at p. 290, and his article "Für Johannes Fust" in *Ars Impressoria...Festgave für Severin Corsten* (Munich, 1986) 285–313, at p. 290.
[10] Cole, *The Renaissance Artist at Work* (New York, 1983). For a somewhat conflicting view of the artist in Renaissance society see A. Martindale, *The Rise of the Artist*, pp. 97–106.
[11] For a full discussion of workshops and training, see B. Cole, *The Renaissance Artist at Work*, 30–56 and J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 121–49.
[12] This dated copy of Durandus' *Rationale divinorum Officiorum* was in Basle in 1893. E. G. Duff, *Early Printed Books* (London 1893; reptd. New York, 1968), p. 43.
[13] S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 30.
[14] E. P. Goldschmidt, *The Printed Book of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 70–1.
[15] For English incunabula see E. G. Duff, *Early Printed Books*, 125–84; E. Hodnet *English Woodcuts*; H. R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde and His Contemporaries* (London, 1925); P. Needham *The Printer and the Pardoner* (Washington D.C., 1986).
[16] Many thanks to all who have helped in any way with the planning and editing of this catalogue, especially Kimberly Van Kampen, Scott Holmgren, and Scott Carroll.

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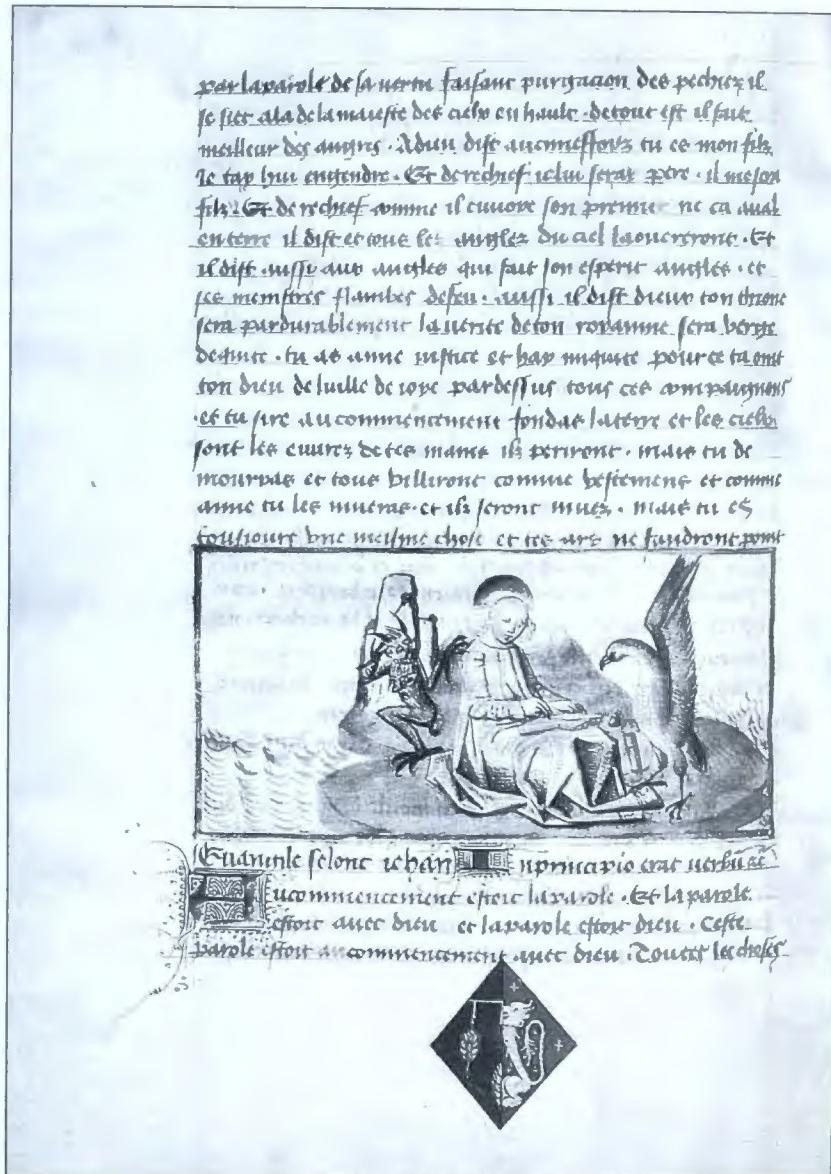
1. LECTIONARY, manuscript on vellum
France, early 15th century
VK MS. 644

Although Latin was the language of the Church, vernacular translations of liturgical elements became increasingly popular in the fifteenth century. This manuscript compilation of liturgical readings for the Church year and for saints' days is translated into French. The colophon at the back of the manuscript records that the translation (following the use of Paris) was completed by Jean de Vignay on May 13, 1326. In actual fact, the translation was complet-

ed in 1336, and the fifteenth-century scribe of this manuscript copy has simply miscopied the exemplar.

Jean de Vignay, a Knight Hospitaller of Sainte-Jacques du Haut-Pas, translated several works between 1326 and 1341. These principally consisted of legends and moralistic literature. Whereas elsewhere in fifteenth-century Europe translation of biblical texts into a vernacular language was risky and almost heretical — as the Church was resistant to the idea for several reasons — in France it is thought that the monarchy may actually have encouraged translation into French. Nonetheless, the fairly low survival rate of these manuscripts may indicate later opposition to the idea.

The manuscript contains six gold-framed semi-grisaille miniatures thought to have come from the workshop of the 'Apocalypse Master', a manuscript artist who was active in Paris between 1407 and 1420. His patrons included the Duc de Berry, Jean sans Peur, and Pierre de Fontenay. The name 'Apocalypse Master' is derived from a manuscript of the Apocalypse the artist painted for the Duc de Berry (Pierpont Morgan MS. M.133). Grisaille paintings are usually monochrome gray; the figures are white but varying tones of gray are added to highlight shadows to give an illusion of bas relief. This artist adds to the grisaille base simple washes of pale blue, green, or magenta with white highlights (see p. 21). The Apocalypse Master's stark landscapes contrast sharply with the more naturalistic landscape elements common in most fifteenth-century artwork. However, the strong sense of impending action makes these miniatures far from dull. It is the simple, clean lines found in manuscripts such as this that artists of early woodcuts imitated in early printed books.

One of the miniatures shows St. John writing the Gospel on the Isle of Patmos with his symbol, the eagle, before him, a pencase and inkwell to his side. A gruesome horned devil with a face on his belly stands behind the writer and taps him on the shoulder. In fifteenth-century art, multi-faced devils are often depicted attempting to steal the gospel writer's ink to prevent him from completing the biblical text. The island on which the rosy-cheeked St. John sits is devoid of any natural features save a few boulders in the background, and the sea is composed of a simple blue wash; such sparseness is characteristic of the 'Apocalypse Master'. The Apostle has a brightly burnished gold nimbus, and the miniature is surrounded by a burnished gold frame.

Throughout the manuscript, two initials mark the beginning of each reading. The smaller blue initial decorated with red penwork highlights the first few words of the reading in Latin, the language by which the reading would be recognized. The larger gold initial with blue penwork emphasizes the French translation which follows in full. Rubrics (in French) usually provide information such as 'the Gospel according to John' or 'the Epistle for Palm Sunday'. The text is written in a calligraphic Bâtarde, a common fifteenth-century book script which is less formal than the Gothic book-hands found in many liturgical manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, but more formal than the cursive Secretary scripts used in many documents. In the margins, the scribe wrote cues to the rubricator (a different scribe in this case) so that he would know what to write, but several of these notes were either partially or

entirely trimmed away by the binder. The leaves were ruled in faint red ink before the text was written.

The diamond-shaped arms at the foot of each miniature indicates that this manuscript was probably copied for Marie d'Orgemont in Paris in the early fifteenth century. She was the daughter of Arnoul Boucer d'Orsay who was the treasurer of France in 1400, and her husband was Philippe d'Orgemont whose grandfather had been the Chancellor of France. Although this is not a royal manuscript, it is certainly one of high status.

2. GUTENBERG BIBLE LEAF, printed on paper by Johann Gutenberg
Mainz, 1455?
VK Inc. 794

Displayed here is a single leaf from a copy of Gutenberg's 42-line Bible, the first book to be printed by means of movable type. The Gutenberg Bible is considered by many to be the most important book ever printed, but very little is known about Johann Gutenberg or the circumstances of printing. Prior to the movable-type press invented by Gutenberg, printing had been accomplished by means of wooden blocks; a block was carved in reverse and was then inked to print a page. With this system, a new block had to be carved to print each page. Gutenberg developed a method of casting individual letters which could be arranged by the compositor to form individual words. Gutenberg's best-known project was the 42-line Latin Bible which appeared in the mid-1450s. Eberhard König's 1995 census of Gutenberg Bibles records 48 complete or nearly complete copies. In addition, more than 160 fragments or single leaves have survived.

The problem of the Gutenberg Bible is that it seems to have sprung from nowhere. It bears no colophon naming the printer, date, or place of printing. It was not until 1472 that a definitive reference to Gutenberg as the inventor of movable type appeared in a letter printed in Paris. Scholars have long puzzled over technical questions. How many presses were used? How many men were required for the project? In what order was the Bible printed? Why are there only forty lines in the first few quires of some copies? Some of these questions can be answered in part from clues in the books themselves. There are four distinct watermarks in the paper copies: two different bulls' heads, grapes, and a running ox. Research into watermarks has shown that the various paper stocks were used in a discernible order. Spectrographic analysis of the inks may eventually help to determine the order of printing and the number of presses used, as the ratio of elements in the ink varied from batch to batch.

In many ways, the first printed Bible still looked like a manuscript: initials, rubrics, headings, and in some cases folio numbers and catchwords were all written in by hand. The first leaf of many copies was sumptuously illuminated by hand. The rubricator of this leaf used alternating blue and red pigments to paint Lombard initials, chapter numbers, and the running heads indicating the name of the biblical book. The top of this leaf reads *MACHA*

z vicesima die secudi mesis·anno cen=
tesimo septuagesimo primo cu laude
et ramis palmaz·et cytharis et cimba=
lis et nablis z ymnis et canticis:quia
cotritus est inimicus magnus ex isrl.
Et costituit ut omnibz annis agerea=
tur dies hij cum leticia . Et munuuit
montem templi qui erat secus arcem :
z habitauit ibi ipe z q cu eo erat.Et vi=
dit simo iohane filiu suu cp fortis pre=
lij vir esset:et posuit eu duce virtutum
uniusaz:z habitauit i gazaris. XIIII
        Anno centesimo septuagesimose=
        cundo cogregauit rex demetri⁹
exercitu suu : z abijt in media ad cotra=
henda sibi auxilia : ut expugnaret tri=
phone. Et audiuit arsaces rex psidis
et medie quia intrauit demetrius con=
fines suos:et misit unu de principbus
suis ut coprehederet eu uiuu:et adduce=
ret eum ad se. Et abijt z pcussit castra
demetrij·et coprehendit eum:et duxit

VK Inc. 794, fol. 1v.
A detail of
I Maccabees 14.

on one side and *BEORUM* on the other to denote the biblical book I Maccabees (see p. 22). The leaf has not been foliated. As is common in fifteenth-century books, the rubricator has marked a red stroke through each capital letter to identify the beginnings of sentences.

Over the centuries, numerous inferences and legends have been created to flesh out an insubstantial skeleton of facts pertaining to Johann Gutenberg. The absolute facts are few indeed and are gleaned largely from court records and tax rolls. Johann Gensfleisch zur Laden zum Gutenberg was born in Mainz to a patrician family between 1394 and 1406. He took the name Gutenberg from one of the properties owned by the family. He moved to Strasburg, probably owing to political troubles in Mainz. By 1534, he was on the Strasborg tax roll, and was still eligible for military service in 1444 through his affiliation with (but not actual membership in) the guild of master goldsmiths of Strasburg. Records from 1439 mention Gutenberg's involvement in the production of *speigeln* (mirrors for religious pilgrims). Some scholars have argued that the term is simply an attempt at maintaining secrecy, and that Gutenberg was actually printing — making mirror-like images — by the late 1430s.

By 1448, Gutenberg was back in Mainz where Johann Fust, a money broker, financed the printing venture. When Gutenberg was unable to pay back the loan in the allotted time, Fust took him to court. Although it is commonly thought that Gutenberg died a pauper because he lost both the case and his printing shop, this conclusion is refutable. We do know that he was granted a pension from the Archbishop of Mainz for the final years of his life.

This leaf was taken from the copy owned by the New York book dealer Gabriel Wells, who in 1921 decided that his two-volume copy would not sell for the right price since 48 leaves were missing. For this reason, the two volumes were broken into as many complete biblical books as possible. The remaining single leaves were bound individually under the title "A Noble Fragment; being a leaf of the Gutenberg Bible with a bibliographical essay by A. Edward Newton." The leaves were bound in various shades of morocco by Stikeman and Co. of New York. In 1960, Don Norman compiled a list identifying the whereabouts of 283 leaves from the Wells copy. This folio (I Maccabees 12.53-14.2) is not recorded; nor are the leaves that immediately preceded and followed it, but the leaf containing I Maccabees 7–9 is now in Detroit, and that containing chapters 15–16 is at Leigh University in Pennsylvania.

At the end of his 'bibliographical essay' Newton records that it was not until 1847 that a Gutenberg Bible came to America. A second arrived in 1872 with a letter from the purchasing agent, Henry Stevens, to the new owner reading, "Pray, Sir, ponder for a moment and appreciate the rarity and importance of this precious consignment from the old world to the new. . . . It was read in Europe half a century before America was discovered. Please suggest to your deputy that he uncover his head while in the presence of this great book. . . . It is not possible for many men ever to touch or even look upon a page of a Gutenberg Bible."

[GW 4201; DM 6076]

3. SECOND GERMAN BIBLE, printed on paper by Heinrich Eggestein
Strasburg, not after 1470
VK Inc. 802

When Martin Luther's influential *Septembertestament* appeared in 1522, eighteen German Bibles had already been printed in both High and Low German. The printer of the second edition, Heinrich Eggestein, was active in Strasburg between 1468 and 1483, during which time he produced three Latin Bibles, the Second German Bible, the *Decretum Gratiani*, and other works. As a Master of Arts, he was perhaps the first university-educated printer. Although born in Rosheim, his name appears in Strasburg documents from 1442, and it is believed that he worked for or with Johannes Mentelin, Strasburg's first printer, in his earlier printing ventures. However, Eggestein set up his own print shop prior to Mentelin's completion of the first German Bible in 1466, and so created direct competition within the mar-
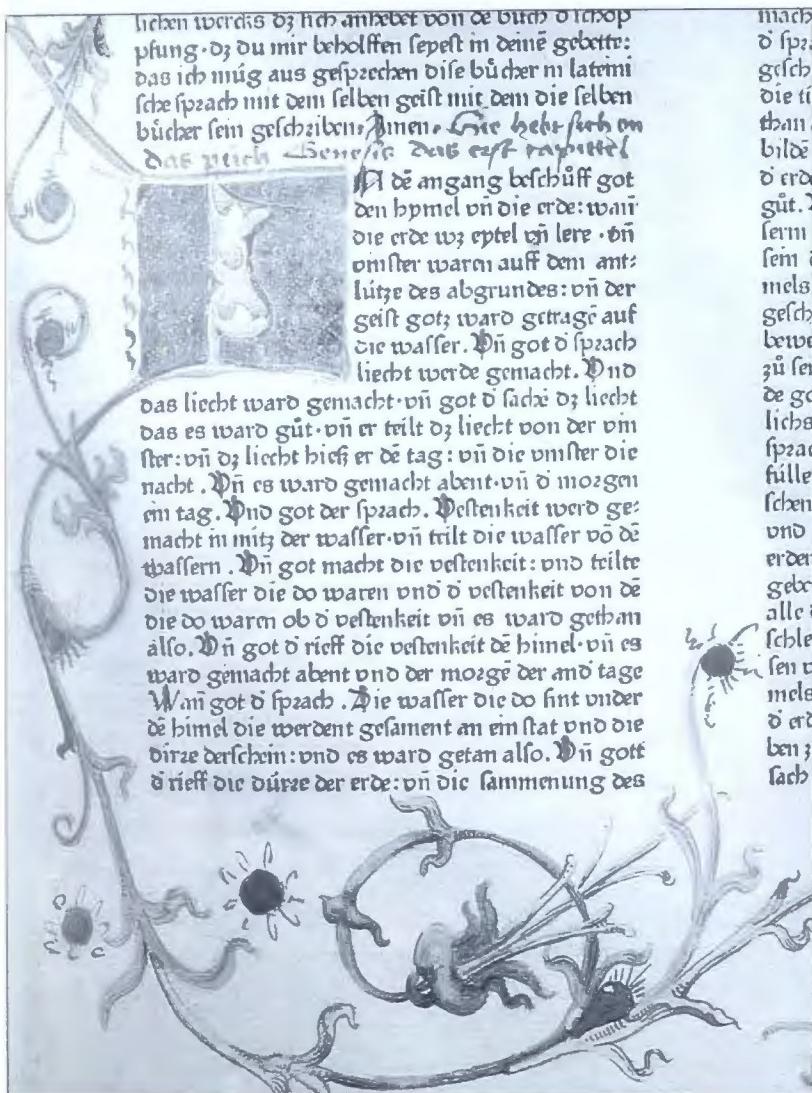
VK Inc. 802, fol. 4r.
Genesis 1.
Artist A.

ket. Eggestein was a more careful printer than Mentelin; his typefaces were more legible, and his materials were of higher quality than those of his Strasburg competitor.

German printers were quick to perceive the value of the printing press for the dissemination of works to the growing middle class. It is no surprise, then, that the first printed vernacular editions were German Bibles. These early German Bibles contain a few textual peculiarities. In addition to variations from the Vulgate, they all include the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans after Galatians and place the book of Acts after Hebrews. At the end of the Eggestein Bible, the titles of the Psalms are printed with incipits in both Latin and German.

The earliest printed books, including Eggestein's German Bible, were not intended to be read immediately after they came off the press because they were not yet confected, that is, the text was printed, but all of the sign posts — such as initial letters, titles, chapter numbers, folio numbers, and headings — remained to be written in by hand. In the Eggestein

Bible, the printers left indented spaces for the rubricator or illuminator to add hand-painted initials; eight to ten lines were indented at the beginning of each biblical book, and three lines were indented for minor initials at chapter beginnings. The task of confection fell to the rubricator, in this case a single scribe, who added these elements in red and drew a red stroke through the first letter of each sentence. Alternating blue and red initials were also drawn by one hand. Some copies of Eggestein's German Bible include three printed folios listing the contents of the Bible. This copy, however, includes a manuscript table of contents written on the back endleaf by someone other than the rubricator. The leaf is ruled in red, and the contents and corresponding folio numbers are written in a calligraphic German cursive script with accentuated ascenders and descenders. The folio numbers were written in red Arabic numerals.

Major initials in the Van Kampen copy have been hand painted by at least three artists. Artist A painted initials and marginal decoration for folios 2–101 (see p. 23). The initials are often patterned gold leaf, with lush acanthus vegetation within the initials, and each is dec-

VK Inc. 802, fol. 177r.
Psalm 1.
Artist B.
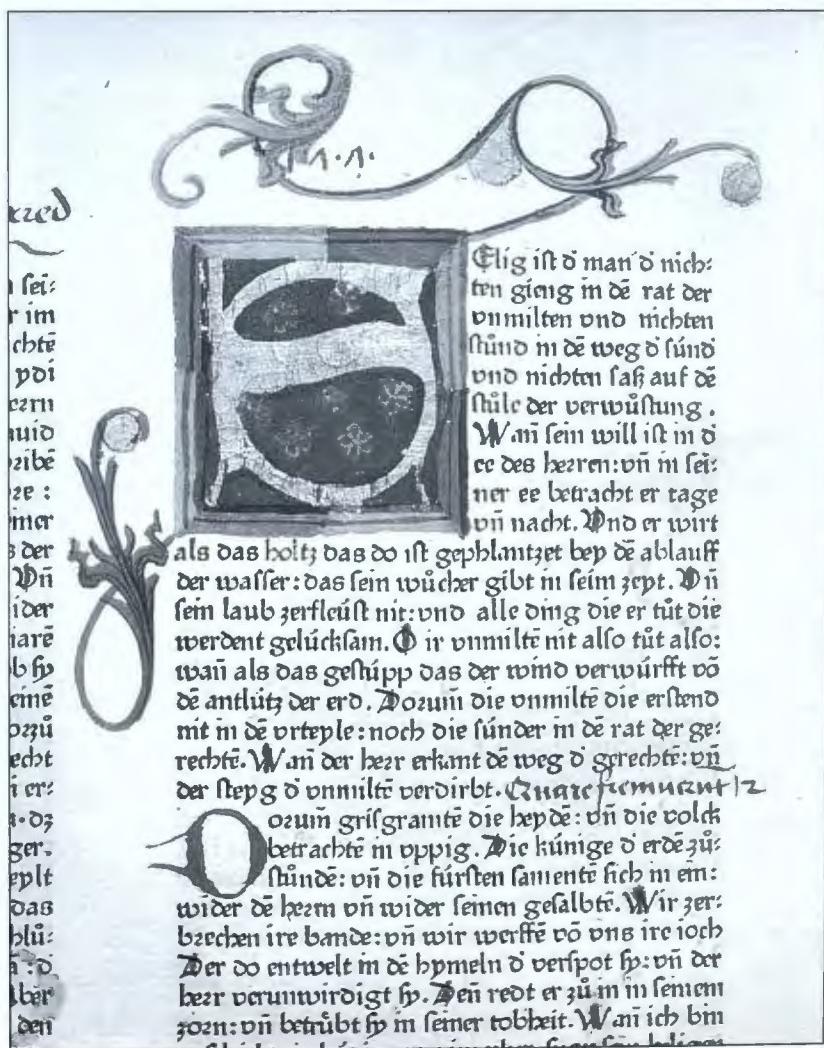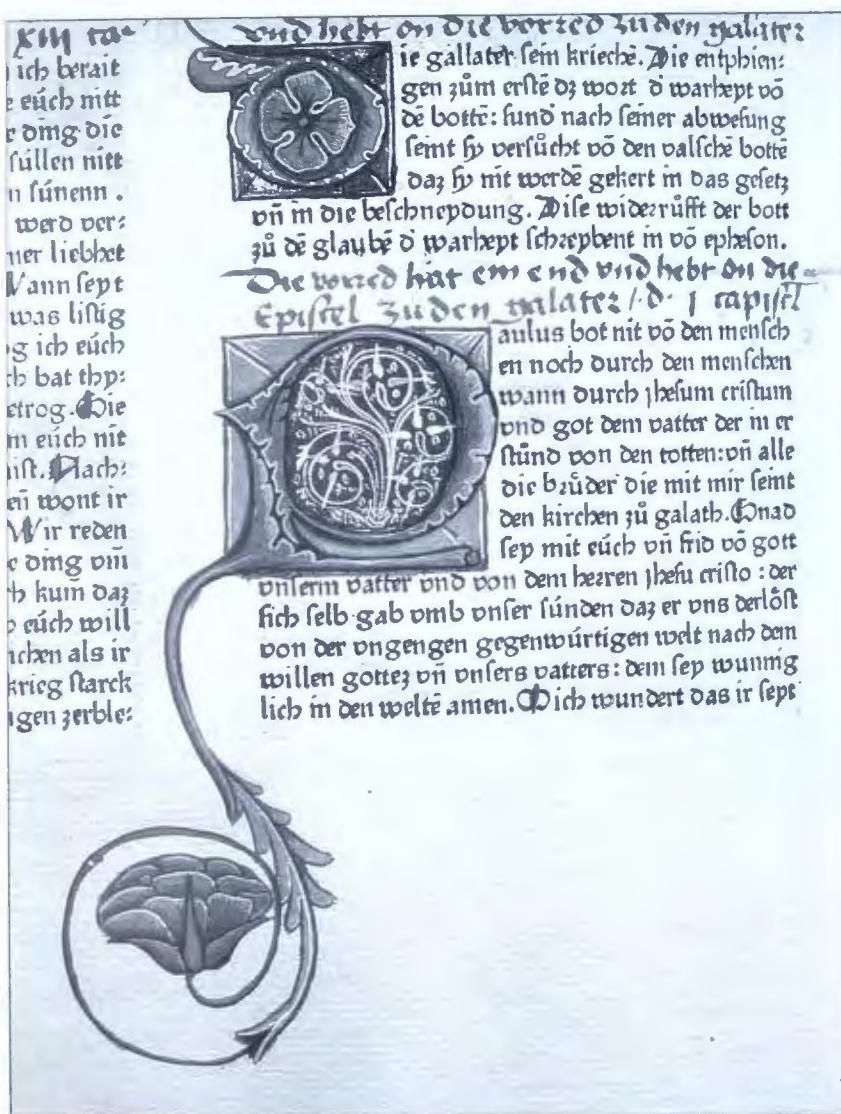
orated with delicate, leafy vine tendrils extending into the margin. The ends often terminate in golden globes with red penwork highlights and rays extending from them. Occasionally, leadpoint layout lines in are still visible beneath the pigments.

Artist B illuminated initials on folios 1 and 102–195. His vinework is not always as crisp and clean, and gold leaf is not applied with great success; the colors used by artist B tend to be darker than those of artist A. There is no red highlighting of the golden elements. Occasionally, artist B painted two-toned paneled frames around the initials, a characteristic south-German feature. In other places, the backgrounds have been decorated with liquid gold penwork sprays. Artist B does not always create vine tendrils in the margins; they are often absent in preface initials. Artists A and B draw slender bohemian-style leafy vines. Lapis lazuli is used by both in some initials and is often etched with a five-petaled flower pattern. Gold leaf is often patterned with a similar five-petaled stamp or pin-pricked lines forming lozenge patterns within the initial frame. Artist A seems to have stepped in at certain points within

the folios worked by Artist B, almost as though a master–apprentice relationship existed between the two.

Although the rubrication and minor initials maintain the same style throughout the book, the artist of the second half of the volume is clearly different from the two artists working in the first half. Artist C painted well-executed, but blunted, acanthus fronds in the margins; sometimes these terminated in a rose. His palette included dark blues, dark green, orange, rose, and burgundy. White or yellow penwork sprays were drawn inside initials if the initial did not already rest on a geometrically patterned background. In one initial, an elfin knight with a spear and shield appears clad in a vine leaf, and several initials are inhabited by frowning vegetation-like grotesques. Artist C outlined marginal teardrop-shaped roundels of gold with red.

The Van Kampen copy of Eggestein's German Bible provides a clear example of the necessary collaboration of printers, scribes, and artists that was required to produce a completed incunabulum.

[GW 4296; Hain 3129; DM 4177; BMC ɪ. 72; Goff B-625]

4. THIRD (OR FOURTH) GERMAN BIBLE, printed on paper by Jodocus Pflanzmann
Augsburg, 1475
VK Inc. 703

The Pflanzmann German Bible bears no colophon naming date or place of printing, but it is attributed to Augsburg on the basis of the typefaces. The edition is based upon Heinrich Eggestein's German Bible of 1470 and was certainly produced before 20 June, 1477, when the woodcuts in this edition were reused in the Sorg Bible of that date.

There has been debate as to whether this is the third (or the fourth) Bible printed in German, because Gunter Zainer, also of Augsburg, published an edition at about the same time. It is thought that the two versions were printed concurrently, each attempting to capture the Augsburg market. Which of the two was published first is not now known, but the similarity in layout between some of the woodcuts suggests that if Zainer woodcuts were not modeled after Pflanzmann's or vice versa, then both woodcut artists were working from the same basic iconographical models. Part of the mystery may be explained by the fact that fifteenth-century Augsburg was a center for card making and hence, wood carving and engraving. In 1471 a quarrel erupted over the printer Zainer's admittance as burgher because he did not use members of the guild of carvers for his blocks, preferring instead to carve them within his shop. The guilds opposed his admittance until he agreed to print no woodcuts except those carved by an Augsburg guild member. No doubt, the same restrictions were applied to Pflanzmann. Regardless of which appeared first, both the Pflanzmann and Zainer

VK Inc. 703, fol. 199v. Preface to Psalms. Woodcut of David with his harp and the beginning of the *Te Deum* manuscript addition.

Bibles are significant in that they were the first Bibles to include woodcut illustrations: Pflanzmann's are scenes framed with simple borders; Zainer's appear as scenes within initials.

Since Jodocus Pflanzmann was a lawyer and advocate for the Augusburg ecclesiastical court, and not a full-time printer, he either printed in his spare time only, or someone else looked after the printing shop. Pflanzmann's Bible was printed without a title page, foliation, or signatures. Running heads appear only in the first gathering; thereafter they have been written in by hand. In several places, the types were almost pressed right through the paper; ridges from the type on the verso are quite noticeable in the margins. A printed register on the last page records the number of chapters in each biblical book. Titles to each book were printed, and guide letters — small letters printed in the space where the rubricator was intended to draw the initial — are visible sporadically throughout the Bible. Hand drawn initials, headings, and foliation were added to complete the confection of the book.

Fifty-seven woodcuts were carved, but several were printed more than once, since each book of the Bible is headed with a woodcut. In this copy, almost all of them have been colored in by a rather inexpert and sloppy hand in pale colors (see p. 24). The early German woodcuts were fully intended to be colored; it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that artists such as Dürer developed the art of wood engraving to the degree that the designs became self-standing creations, complete in their own right and requiring no coloring.

After a book was confected, additions could still be made. In this copy, a sixteenth-century hand added marginal chapter summaries in German for all books except IV Esdras, Job, and Psalms, but these were all partially cropped later that century when the book was bound. For some reason, the compositors left a large blank space between the two prologues before the Psalms, but a fifteenth-century hand has filled the space with a German translation of the *Te Deum*, a Matins hymn. The same hand designates in marginal notes that Psalms 1–26 are to be said on Monday, 27–37 on Tuesday, 38–51 on Wednesday, and so forth. At the end of the Psalms, the scribe lists those Psalms to be said at various feasts.

[GW 4298; HC 3131; DM 4180; BMC ii. 358]

5. LATIN BIBLE, printed on vellum by Nicholas Jenson
Venice, 1479
VK Inc. 405

An outstanding example of Nicholas Jenson's second edition of the Vulgate Bible, this is one of very few copies of the edition to have been printed on vellum. The edition includes the biblical text itself along with a full set of prefaces to the individual books and to the whole Bible. Additionally, it provides at the end a glossary of the Hebrew names in the Bible and a *Registrum Biblie* that lists the opening words on each leaf of the first half of each gathering of the volume.

In accordance with its high status, this vellum copy has been sumptuously decorated by hand. The initials that begin each biblical book are either in gold or have a gold background. When the letter itself is in gold, frequently the background is divided vertically into two panels of different colors, with each panel containing foliate decoration. The most elaborate decoration occurs at the front of the book: for the initial beginning St. Jerome's *Frater Ambrosius* letter to Paulinus of Nola that serves as a preface to the whole biblical text (fol. 1r) and for the opening of the book of Genesis (fol. 4r). The panel for the ten-line initial **F** of the preface has foliate extensions that include berry-like tips in gold. On fol. 4r, between the title of the book of Genesis and the opening of its text, is an illustration depicting the enthroned Creator holding the globe of the world in his left hand and gesturing in blessing with his right. To the upper left and right are two angels respectively playing the viol and carrying a crown, while to the lower left and right two winged *putti* kneel in reverence, their hands joined in prayer. Above the scroll bearing the words of the title is the nimbed dove, a
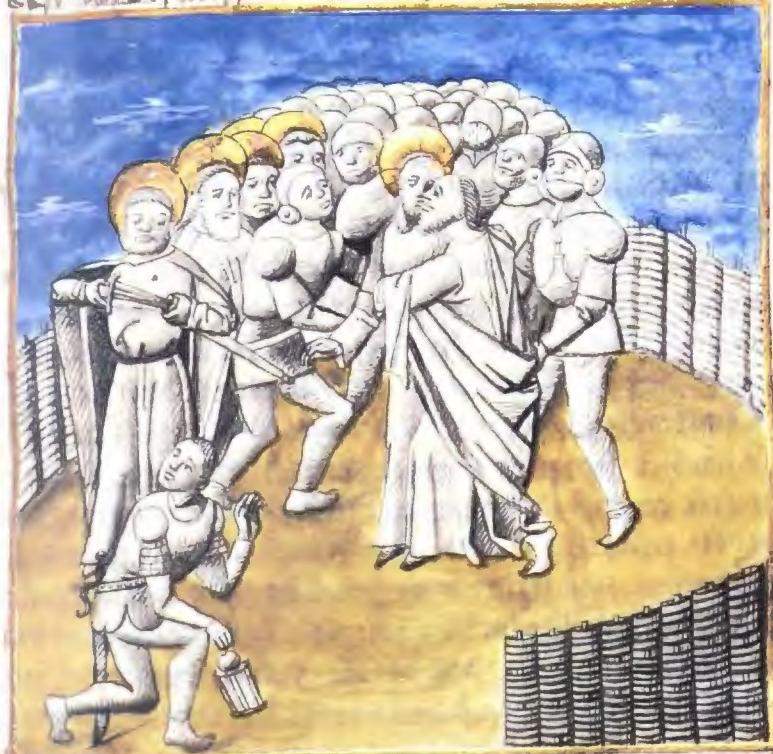
1. VK MS. 644, fol. 76r. French Lectionary (Paris?, early 15th century). The Betrayal of Christ.

BEORUM I

luctu magno. Et quesierut omes gen-
tes qui erāt i circuitu eoꝛ coꝛuerte eos.
Dixerūt eui. Nō habēt pricipē et adiu-
uantē:nūc ergo expugnem⁹ illos:ꝓ tol-
lam⁹ de hoīibꝫ memoriā eoꝛ. XIII
Et ut audiuit simon qꝺ cōgrega-
uit triphon exercitū copiosū. ut
ueniret ī terrā iuda ꝛ attereret eā: uidēs
quia in timore ipse est et in timore-
ascendit iherusalē ꝛ cōgregauit psluī:
et adhortans dixit. Uos scitis quāta
ego ꝛ fratres mei. et dom⁹ patris mei
fecim⁹ pro legibus ꝛ pro sanctis psilia:
et angustias quales uidim⁹. Horum
gratia perierūt fratres mei omes ꝓpter
isrl: et relictus sum ego solus. Et nūc
non michi contingat parcere anime
mee: in omni tempore tribulationis.
Non enim melior sum fratribꝫ meis.
Uindicabo itaqꝫ gentem meā et san-
cta- natos ꝙ nostros et uxores:quia
cōgregate sut uniuse gētes oterere nos
inimicitie gratia. Et accensus ē spiri-
tus populi simul-ut audiuit sermones
istos:et responderūt uoce magna di-
centes. Tu es dux noster loco iude-et
ionathe fratris tui. Pugna prelium
nostrū: et omnia quecūqꝫ dixeris no-
bis faciemus. Et congregans omnes
uiros bellatores accelerauit consum-
mare uniūsos muros iherlm:ꝛ muni-
uit eam in gyro. Et misit ionathan fi-
lium absolomi:et cū eo exercitū nouū
in ioppen:ꝛ eiectis hiis qui erāt ī arce-
remansit illic ipse. Et mouit triphon
a ptolomaida cum exercitu multo ut
ueniret in terrā iude:et ionathas cum
eo in custodia. Simon autē applicuit
in addus contra faciem campi. Et ut
cognouit triphon quia surrexit simō
loco fratris sui ionathe-ꝛ quia comis-
surus esset cum eo plium: misit ad eū

legatos dicens. Pro argento qꝺ debe-
bat frater tuus ionathas in ratione
regis propter negotia que habuit:de-
tinuim⁹ eum. Et nunc mitte argenti
talenta centum ꝛ duos filios eius ob-
sites: ut nō dimissus fugiat a nobis:
et remittem⁹ eum. Et cognouit simon
quia cum dolo loqueretur secū. Iussit
tamen dari argentum et pueros:ne in-
inimicitiā magnā sumeret ad populū
isrl dicente: quia non misit ei argentū
et pueros· propterea periit. Et misit
pueros ꝛ centū talenta. Et mentit⁹ est:
et non dimisit ionathan. Et post hec
uenit triphon regionem ut conterreret
eam:et gyrauerūt per uiā ꝗ ducit ador.
Et simon ꝛ castra eius· ambulabant
in omnē locū quocūqꝫ ibant. Qui au-
tem in arce erant· miserunt ad tripho-
nem legatos · ut festinaret uenire per
desertū:et mitteret illis alimonias. Et
parauit triphon omnem equitatū:ut
ueniret illa nocte . Erat autē nix mul-
ta valde:et non uenit in galadithim.
Et cum apropiquasset baschaman:
occidit ionathan ꝛ filios eius illic. Et
conuertit triphon:ꝛ abiit in terrā suā.
Et misit simō et accepit ossa ionathe
fratris sui : et sepeliuit ea in modin ci-
uitate patrū eius. Et planxerunt eum
omnis isrl·plāctu magno : et luxerūt
eum dies multos. Et edificauit simō
sup sepulcrū patris sui et fratrū suorū
edificiū altū uisu · lapide polito retro
et ante : et statuit septem piramidas
unā contra unā:patri et matri·et qua-
tuor fratribus . Et hiis circumposuit
columnas magnas:ꝛ sup columnas
arma·ad memoriā eternam : et iuxta
arma naues sculptas : que uiderētur
ab homīnibꝫ nauigātibꝫ mare. Hoc
est sepulcrū quod fecit in modin usqꝫ

2. VK Inc. 794, fol. 1r. Gutenberg Bible (Mainz, 1455?). I Maccabees 13.

Genesis

3. VK Inc. 802, fol. 4r. Second German Bible (Strasburg, before 1470). Genesis 1.

4. VK Inc. 703, fol. 4v. Third (or Fourth) German Bible (Augsburg, 1475). Genesis 1.
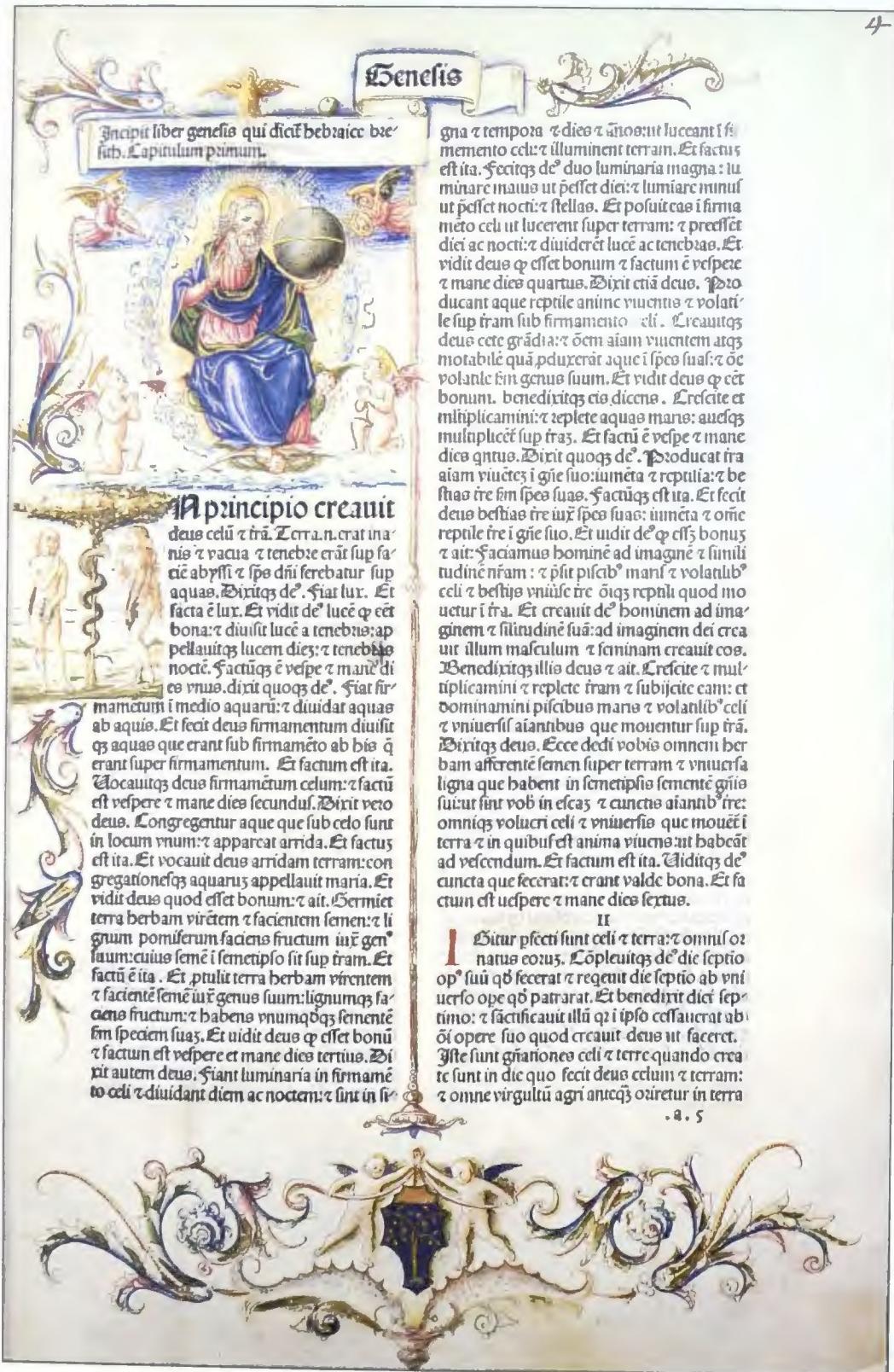
5. VK Inc. 405, fol. 5r. Latin Bible (Venice, 1479). Genesis 1.

7. VK Inc. 403, fol. 1r. Latin Bible (Strasburg, 1468). *Frater Ambrosius* page decorated by the Fust Master.

Prologus in Bibliam

Incipit epistola beati Hieronymi ad
Paulinu presbyteru de omnib⁹ diuine
hiſtoꝛie libris   Capitulu   I

Rater Ambroſius tua
mihi munuſcula pfereſ : detulit ſimul
τ ſuauiſſimas litteras:que a principio
amicitiaꝝ fide pbare iā fidei τ veteris
amicitie noua pferebant. Uera eni illa
neceſſitudo eſt τ chriſti glutino copula
ta:quā nō vtilitas rei familiarɉ:nō pꝛe
ſentia tm coꝛpoꝝ:nō ſubdola τ palpās
adulatio:ſɉ dei timoꝛ τ diuinaꝝ ſcriptu
rarū ſtudia pciliat. Legim⁹ in veterib⁹
hiſtoꝛijs:quoſdā luſtraſſe puicias:no
uos adijſſe populos: maria trāſijſſe: vt
eos quos ex libris nouerāt:coꝛa quoꝗ
videret. Sic pythagoꝛas memphiticos
vates:ſic plato egypti τ archytā taren
tinu:eaꝗ oꝛā italie ꝗ quondaꝝ magna
grecia dicebaꞇ:laboꝛioſiſſime peragra
uit:vt qui athenis mgꝝ erat τ potens:
cuiuſꝗ doctrinas achademie gymna
ſia pſonabāt:fieret pegrin⁹ atꝗ diſci
pulus:malēs aliena verecunde diſcere
ꝗ ſua impudēter gerere. Deniꝗ cū lit
teras quaſi toto oꝛbe fugiētes pſeꝗtur:
capt⁹ a piratis τ venudaꞇ⁹: tyrāno cru
deliſſimo paruit:ducꞇ⁹ captiu⁹vinct⁹ τ
ſeru⁹:tñ qꝝ pꝰhus maioꝛ emente ſe fuit.
Ad titū liuiū lacteo eloquētie fote ma
nantē:de vltimis hiſpanie galliaꝝꝗ fi
nibus:quoſdā veniſſe nobiles legim⁹:
τ quos ad pteplationē ſui roma nō tra
xerat:vni⁹ hois fama pduxit. Habuit
illa etas inauditū oibus ſeculꞇ celebꝛā
diꝗꝗ miraculū:vt vꝛbē tantā ingreſſi:
aliud extra vꝛbē ꝗrerent. Apolloni⁹ ſi
ue ille mag⁹:vt vulg⁹loꝗꞇ ſiue pꝰhs:
vt pythagoꝛici tradūt:intrauit.perſas:
ptranſiuit caucaſuꝝ:albanos:ſcythas:
maſſagetas:opulentiſſima in die regna

penetrauit:τ ad extremū latiſſimo phy
ſon amne trāſmiſſo ꝗeūt ad brachma
nas: vt hiarchā in thꝛono ſedentē au
reo τ de tātali fonte potantē:iter pau
cos diſcipulos:de natura:de moꝛibus:
ac de curſu dieꝝ τ ſidem audiret docen
tē. Inde p elamitas:babyloniōs: chal
deos:medos: aſſyrios: parthos: ſyros:
phenices:arabes:paleſtios:reuerſus ad
alexandriā:prexit ad ethiopiā: vt gym
noſophiſtas et famoſiſſimā ſoꝝ menſaꝝ
videret in ſabulo. Inuenit ille vir vbi
ꝗꝗ qꝇ diſceret:τ ſemp pficiēs:ſꝓ ſe me
lioꝛ fieret. Scripſit ſup hoc pleniſſime
octo voluminib⁹ philoſtrat⁹.   II

Uid loquar de ſeculi hominib⁹
cū apꝛs paul⁹:vas electionis et
mgꝝ gentiū:qui de pſciētia tāti
in ſe hoſpitɉ loꝗbaꞇ diceſ. An experi
mētū ꝗritis ei⁹ qui i me loquiꞇ chꝛiſt
poſt damaſcū arabiāꝗ luſtratā: aſcen
dit hieroſolymā:vt videret petrū:τ mā
ſit apud eū dieb⁹ quidecim. Hoc.n.my
ſterio hebdoadis τ ogdoadis: fururus
gētiū pdicatoꝛ inſtrued⁹ erat. Rurſūꝗ
poſt ānos quattuoꝛdeci aſſupto barna
ba τ tito:expoſuit cū apꝛs euāgelium:
ne foꝛte in vacuū curreret aut cucurriſ
ſet. Habet neſcio quid latentɉ energie
viue vocis actꝰ⁹:τ in aures diſcipuli au
auctoꝛis oꝛe trāſfuſa foꝛti⁹ ſonat. Uñ τ
eſchynes cū rhodi exularet τ legereꞇ il
la demoſthenis oꝛo:quā aduerſus euꝝ
habuerat:mirātib⁹ cūctis atꝗ laudā
tib⁹:ſuſpirās ait. Quid ſi ipſaꝝ audiſſe
tis beſtiā:ſua verba reſonātē?   III

Ec hoc dico:ꝙ ſit aliquid i me
tale:qꝇ vel poſſis a me audirc:
vel velis diſcere:ſɉ quo ardoꝛ tu
us τ diſcēdi ſtudiū etiā abſꝗ nobis p
ſe.pbari debeat. Ingeniū docile et ſine
doctoꝛe laudabile eſt. Nō quid iuenlas
ſed qꝇ ꝗras pſideram⁹. Mollis cera et
ad foꝛmādū faciꝇ:etiā ſi artificis τ pla
ſte ceſſent man⁹:tñ virtute totū eſt ꝗc
quid eſſe poꞇ. Paulus apꝛs ad pedes
gamalieꝇ legē moyſi τ pphas didiciſſe
ſe gloꝛiaꞇ:vt armaꞇ⁹ ſpūaliꝰ⁹ telis.po
ſtea doceret pfidēter. Arma eni nꝛe mi
litie nō carnalia ſūt:ſed potentia deo:
ad deſtructionē munitionū τ cogitati
ones deſtruētes:τ oēs altitudinē extol
lente ſe aduerſus ſciētiā dei:τ captiuā
tes oēm intellectū ad obediendū chꝛi
ſto:τ pati ſubiugare oēm inobediētiā.
Timotheum ſcribit ab infantia ſacris

Act̄ɉ.9.c
i.Thi.i.b.
i.Coꝛ.13.i

Gaꝇ.i.d

Ibidem.2.c

Act̄ɉ.22.a

i.Coꝛ.10.b

ii.Thi.i.a

8 ij

8. VK Inc. 418, fol. 5r. Latin Bible (Basle, 1491). *Frater Ambrosius* page.

11. VK MS. 795, fol. 3v. Humanistic Bible Manuscript (Italy, 15th century). Genesis 1.

Prologus

[facsimile of an illuminated manuscript page with Latin text in gothic script, incorporating a decorated initial and foliate border]

symbol of the Holy Spirit. The initial **I** of the first verse of Genesis is formed by a depiction of the Tree of Paradise around which coils the serpent, who has the face of a devil; to either side, Adam and Eve eat the fruit of the tree and cover their nakedness. Foliate and decorative borders extend along the inner and upper margins of the page. The border of the lower margin includes, above its two fish, a pair of *putti* who hold the suspended arms of the della Rovere family, an uprooted oak tree (see p. 25). The decoration of the page has been attributed to artist known as the 'Pico Master', on account of work that he later performed to the commission of the Renaissance humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94).

The presence of the della Rovere crest fostered the belief, current at least by the early nineteenth century, that this copy was made for Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) — born Francesco della Rovere — and that it subsequently belonged to his nephew, Pope Julius II (1503–13), whom Sixtus appointed cardinal. The added nineteenth-century title-page at the beginning of the volume includes the della Rovere crest surmounted by a cardinal's hat. Nicholas Jenson was in Rome early in 1475 and was reported by a colleague to have been appointed count palatine by Sixtus IV. Jenson could therefore have had reason to produce a sumptuous copy of his 1479 Bible for the Pope. However, the separate field in gold at the top of the arms on fol. 4r was not a feature of the arms of Sixtus IV; further, the arms here do not include a papal crest. It therefore seems more likely that this copy was made not for the Pope but for anoth-

er prominent member of the della Rovere family, perhaps one of those whom Sixtus appoint-
ed to positions of authority.

Nicholas Jenson, a Frenchman by birth and a metal-worker by profession, was the first
non-German to master the art of printing. A sixteenth-century source states that in 1458
Jenson was sent to Mainz by King Charles VII of France in order to spy on Gutenberg and
learn his methods. Following the death of Charles VII in 1461 and the subsequent political
upheavals in France, Jenson moved to Venice, where he published his first edition, the
Preparatio evangelica of Eusebius, in 1470. The clarity of his types and the proportioning of
his pages have been a source of great admiration, not least to the artist and philosopher
William Morris (1834–96), who saw in Jenson's work the perfect fusion of art and craft, and
who used Jenson's roman type as the pattern for the first font of his Kelmscott Press. Morris
singled out for special praise Jenson's correctly proportioned margins — a feature that can
no longer be fully appreciated in the present volume, for the margins of this copy have suf-
fered trimming. The 1479 Bible employs Jenson's Gothic type, used also for his great 1474
edition of Gratian's *Decretum*.

[GW 4238; HC 3073; Copinger Inc. bibl. 40; Goff B-563]

6. FORMER PROPHETS, printed on paper by Joshua Solomon ben Israel
Soncino, 1485
VK Inc. 411

The first edition of the Former Prophets in Hebrew with the commentary of the grammari-
an and exegete David Kimḥi (1160?–1235?) was not printed until long after undated
Hebrew books began to be printed in Rome between 1469 and 1472. It is somewhat sur-
prising that no printed biblical book appeared in Hebrew characters before 1477; this first
edition, a Psalter printed in Bologna, was followed by two further Psalters in 1477 and
1478. The first Hebrew Pentateuch appeared in 1482 and was also printed in Bologna. After
the Psalms and the Pentateuch had been published, an edition of the Former Prophets
(Joshua, Judges, Samuel and I-II Kings) was the next logical publication for those interested
in printing the Hebrew Bible.

The first dated books printed in Hebrew characters appeared in 1475, when two
Hebrew books were published separately near Venice. However, several undated books were
printed earlier in Rome by the printers Obadiah, Menasseh, and Benjamin between 1469
and 1472. The printing craft spread quickly to Spain and Portugal, and by the end of the
fifteenth century at least seventeen Hebrew presses had been established from Portugal to
Constantinople. With the official expulsion of Jews from the Iberian peninsula in 1492, the
bulk of Hebrew book production moved to Italy. Up until the publication of the
Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17), all books printed in Hebrew were edited by Orthodox
Jews; nevertheless, the first Spanish Hebrew type is thought to have been cut by a Gentile,

VK Inc. 411, fol. 14v. The beginning of Samuel.

Pietro de Guadalajara. In the early years of Hebrew typography, there were two main styles of type: those imitating the more cursive Sephardic (Iberian) scripts which were written with a reed pen, and those imitating Ashkenazi (German) scripts, whose squared letters were written with a quill pen. Although the first two Venetian books were printed with Sephardic type, most Italian printers used Ashkenazi type. Hebrew types were further distinguished as square or rabbinic. Square types were usually used for biblical texts, whereas commentary was often set in the less formal rabbinic type. It is worth noting that Hebrew printers began using cursive types (rabbinic) 26 years before the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius first used a roman cursive type (italics) in 1501.

Joshua Solomon ben Israel took his family name, Soncino, from the name of the town near Milan where his family had settled. Soncino's grandfather Solomon moved the family from Germany to Italy, where his father, Israel Nathan (d. 1492?), became a respected

Talmudic scholar and physician. Israel's sons, Moses and Joshua Solomon (d. 1493), were the first family members to establish a printing press. The Former Prophets, their fifth publication, was completed in October 1485. This was closely followed by the Latter Prophets and by the first complete pointed (with vowel marks written below the letters) Hebrew Bible in 1488. In all, Joshua Solomon Soncino printed some 40 works, the last eleven of which were printed in Naples (1490–92). Soncino's nephew, Gershom ben Moses (d. 1534), became a famous Renaissance printer in his own right; he printed works in Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Italian before fierce competition with the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius forced him relocate his printing business to Turkey.

For the edition of the Prophets, Soncino was assisted by Abraham ben Ḥayyim dei Tintori, a respected scholar and the first printer of Hebrew in Ferrara. Minardo di Lugo cut both the square and rabbinic types. Eventually, Soncino types became the standard Hebrew font because they were neither purely Sephardic nor Ashkenazi, but the letters were shaped specifically for printing. In another innovation, Soncino developed an unusual method of numbering sheets as opposed to numbering individual leaves or openings. In this edition, neither the biblical text nor the commentary of Kimhi is pointed or accented. At the beginning of each book, Soncino placed a decorative woodcut of flowering plant scrolls, occasionally inhabited by rabbits (as seen here in the block for Samuel). Within the woodcut is the incipit, the first word or two of the text. The incipit is again printed below the woodcut in slightly larger type than the text itself. The biblical text is placed in the outside upper corners of each page and is surrounded by Kimhi's commentary set in smaller rabbinic type. The words printed in square type within the commentary are tie-words from the text indicating the biblical phrase to which each section of commentary relates.

The printer "who prints correctly and elegantly and who dwells in Soncino" boasts in his colophon at the end of the volume, "We are . . . perfectly certain that there is none among the codices written with the pen as correct as these printed copies." Perhaps it was in challenge to this claim that Eliah ben Benjamin Halevi of Constantinople printed in a colophon in 1493, "And truly it is in the nature of this labor, copying consecutive parts from one hand to another, that no one who partakes in it will remain free from errors. And only an endeavor within the limits of things possible leads to a comparative perfection."

The Van Kampen copy is incomplete, lacking the entire book of Judges and several folios at the beginning and end. The book has been badly wormed, but most holes have been repaired with fine papers. The position of these wormholes near the spine may indicate that the book was left unbound for some time. A few manuscript notes appear in the margins, although most have been trimmed by a later binder.

[HC 13408; DM 5073; Offenberg 27; Goff-Heb 22]

7. FUST MASTER LATIN BIBLE, printed on paper by Heinrich Eggestein
Strasburg, before 1468
VK Inc. 403

Over the years there has been confusion as to the date of this Latin Bible. As with all books printed by Heinrich Eggestein before 1471, this imprint bears no indication of printer or place of printing, but its Strasburg provenance has been determined by the fonts used. This 45-line Bible is the sixth edition of the Latin Vulgate to be printed and the second of three Latin Bibles produced by Eggestein. Four copies of the Bible include rubrication or purchase dates of 1468. Heinrich Eggestein is also known for issuing the first printed book advertisement, probably in 1469, for another Latin Bible; the advertisement entreats the 'Good Man' to come and see his Bible 'written' by the marvelous art of print.

The Van Kampen copy is rubricated throughout in a hand of varying quality. Red Lombard letters — a rounded style of initial common in the late Gothic period — are drawn at the beginnings of books, chapters, and prefaces; these are occasionally flourished with imaginative leaves, setting suns, or faces extending into the margins.

It is the opening illumination, however, that is of particular note in this copy because it is the work of one of the few recognizable book artists of the Renaissance, an artist known simply as the 'Fust Master' (see p. 26). In a somewhat distinctive style, this artist painted frondy vinestems winding gracefully along the margins and terminating in flowers of various shapes and sizes. These wispy fronds are occasionally inhabited by birds or animals. Slate blue, light and dark greens, and pinks predominated his palette. An ornate yet understated gold 'filigree' is usually present within major initials; the initials themselves are filled with acanthus leaves, gracefully highlighted and shadowed, curving alternately to the left and right. The Fust Master's identifying mark is a small, red penwork spray that emanates from a painted roundel base and terminates in three painted flowers. The master's style is clearly founded upon Bohemian artistic traditions of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; a simpler variation of this penwork spray was used in the early years of the fifteenth century by a Bohemian artist known as the Master of the Gerona Martyrology. However, the style is unfamiliar in northern Germany before appearing in Mainz in the 1450s. Based on his stylistic motifs, it seems possible that the Fust Master could have been from Bohemia himself, or was trained by a Bohemian illuminator.

Work by this anonymous artist has now been identified in some twenty printed books and manuscripts. He first appears as the illuminator of books printed by the early Mainz printers Gutenberg, Fust, and Schöffer. Two Gutenberg Bibles and multiple copies of Durandus' *Rationale* (1459), printed by Fust and Schöffer, contain examples of his work. Because most of his surviving work appears in books printed by or connected with Johannes Fust, and because it seems that he worked specifically for Fust, the artist has come to be known as the Fust Master. Often in illuminating these books for Fust, the artist incorporated a stylized depiction of two crossed logs or clubs; the vinework illumination seems to spring from this 'root'. The German scholar Eberhard König has recently defended an earlier argument by Adolph Goldschmidt that this device was intended as a visual pun on Fust's

VK Inc. 403, fol. 1r.
The Fust Master's
signature red
penwork spray.

> pargumos · reunus ao anexananam : prexic
> ao æbiopiã·ut gignofophiftas et famofiſſi=
> mam folis menfam videret in fabulo . In=
> uenit ille vir vbiq̃ q̃ diſcēt· et femp ꝓficies.
> femp fe melioz fieret. Scripfit ſup ħ plemiſſi=
> me octo volummibʒ:phyloſtrat? II
> Quid loquar de feculi homibʒ· cū apſtus
> paul? : vas electōis· et magifter gētiū·
> qui de ofcientia tāū in fe hofpitis loquebat·
> dicens. An experimentum queitis ei? qui in
> me loquitur xꝑs. Poſt damafcū arabiamqʒ
> luftratā:afcēdit iherofolimā ut videret petʒ
> et manſit apud eū dieʒ quindecim. Hoc eni
> mifterio ebdomadis et ogdoadis : futurus
> gentiū ꝑdicatoz inftruendus erat . Rurſūqʒ
> poft annos quatuozdecī aſſumpto barnaba
> et tpto : expofuit cū apſtis euangeliū · ne foz=
> te in vacuū currret aut cucurriſſ. Habet ne=
> fcio quid latentis energie : viue vods act?·
> et in aures difcipuli de auctozis oze traſſit=
> fa : foztius fonāt. Vnde ꞇ efchīe? cū rodi ex=
> ularet · ꞇ legeretur illa dēmoftenis ozo quā
> adūfus eū habuerat : mirantibʒ dictis atqʒ
> laudātibʒ : fufpirās ait. Quid fi· ipam audiſ=
> fetis beftiã·fua verba refonantē. III
> Nec hoc dico· q̃ fit aliquid in me tale· q̃ d
> vel poſſis a me audire vel velis difce=
> re : fed quo ardoz tuus et difcendi ftudium ·
> etiā abfqʒ nobis p fe ꝓbari debeat. Ingeniū
> docile·et fine doctoze laudabile eft . Ꝓ quid
> inuenias : ß quid queras cōfideramus. Mol=
> lis cera et ad foꝛmādum facilis : etiā fi artifi=

name, which is formed from the Latin word *fustis* (cudgel). Such puns on Latin roots of prop-
er names were commonplace in humanist circles.

Following Fust's death in 1466, the Fust master decorated at least one copy of the
Constitutions of Clement V, printed in 1467 by Peter Schöffer, Fust's partner. Not surprising-
ly, the crossed-club device is not present in the Fust Master's illumination in the Van Kampen
copy of the Latin Bible, for it was not printed by Fust in Mainz, but rather by Eggestein in
Strasburg. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that following Fust's death, the artist spent
some time with Eggestein illuminating Strasburg books, especially in light of the fact that
Eggestein is thought to have had business contacts with Gutenberg and Fust. In any event,
the Fust Master is an excellent example of an artist whose work is rooted in the medieval tra-
ditions of book illumination, yet whose involvement with the beginnings of printing helped
to bridge the old and the new styles of book production.

[GW 4206; HC 3036; DM sub. 6080; BMC I. 66; Goff B-531]

8. BIBLIA INTEGRA, SUMMATA, DISTINCTA, SUPEREMENDATA, UTRIUSQUE TESTAMENTI CONCORDANTIIS ILLUSTRATA, printed
on paper by Johannes Froben
Basle, 1491
VK Inc. 418

This 1491 Bible was probably the first book — certainly the first dated book — to issue from the press of Johannes Froben (c. 1460–1527), who by the second decade of the sixteenth century had become the dominant printer of humanist works north of the Alps. A native of Hammelburg in Franconia, Froben had moved to Basle as a student and had there made the acquaintance of Johannes Amerbach. In 1490 Froben became a citizen of Basle and set up his own press. He later entered into partnership with Johannes Amerbach and Johannes Petri, and under the three of them the press at Basle became a vehicle for the spread of Christian humanism. Froben's most significant publication was Erasmus's edition of the Greek New Testament (1516), the publication considered the catalyst of the Reformation. Froben's friendship with Erasmus, whose chosen publisher he became in 1514, was especially fruitful, although it was through the Dutchman's influence that Froben ceased publishing works by Luther after issuing four collections of the reformer's Latin tracts between 1518 and 1520.

Froben's books were famed for the elegance of their types and the accuracy of their texts, the latter characteristic resulting from Froben's employment of significant scholars as correctors, among them the humanist Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547). His early books were printed in a clear Gothic type, but in 1513 he adopted the italic type used by the Venetian printer Aldus. In addition to the roman fonts, Froben printed with Hebrew and Greek fonts. For the decorative elements in his books, he employed famous artists such as Hans Holbein and the engraver Urs Graff. High-quality paper was imported from Loraine. As was the case with many early printing projects, Froben's production costs often exceeded the profits.

The 1491 Bible was the first Latin Bible printed in small type and issued in the small octavo format. The type itself is Gothic, not the italic type for which he became known. Froben preceded the scriptural text with an exhortation "To lovers of divine letters and true riches" and with a summary of the contents of each book of the Bible. At the end of the volume he included a glossary of Hebrew names, notes on the translators of the Bible from the Septuagint to St. Jerome, and an exposition of the fourfold method of interpreting scripture (literal, allegorical, anagogical and tropological). To assist consultation of the biblical text itself, Froben applied to both Testaments the system of dividing chapters into sections identified by the letters **A** to **D** or **A** to **G**. Latin Bibles from Bohemia, at least, had been marked in this way from the early fifteenth century, but until 1491, printers had used the alphabetic system only in the New Testament. Further, the whole text is concordanced by the method of citing parallel passages in the margins, and links are thereby established between the two Testaments. For example, Christ's comments on the brazen serpent in John 3 are referred back to the Old Testament account of Moses and the brazen serpent by the marginal citation of Numbers 21.c; and at that point in Numbers, there is a reference forward to John 3.b.

VK Inc. 418, fol. 7v.
Genesis 1.
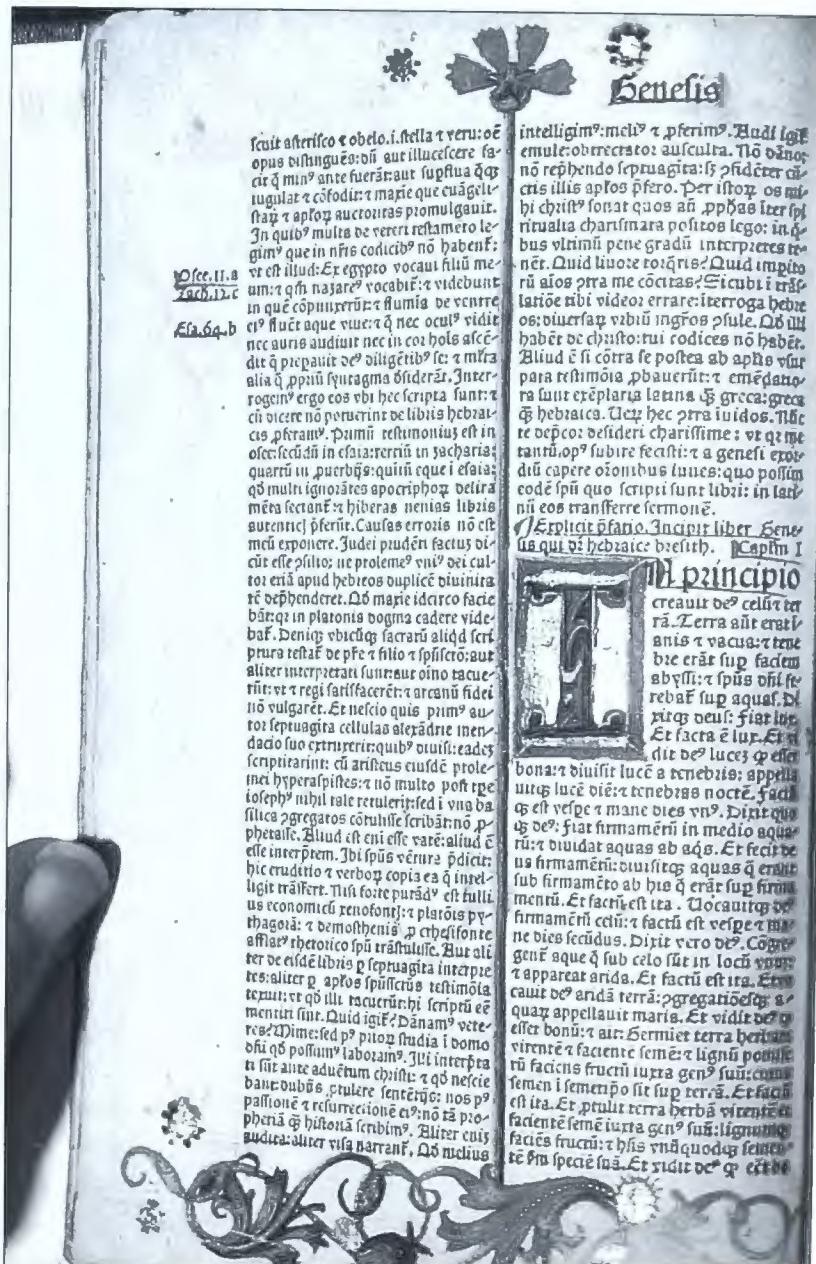
This copy of Froben's Bible is embellished throughout with colored initials in alter-
nating red and blue, occasionally incorporating simple decoration and marginal flourishes.
Major decoration in the South German style, comprising framed initials and floral borders
including elements of gold, is reserved for the opening of Jerome's *Frater Ambrosius* letter
(fol. 5r) and for the beginning of Genesis (fol. 7v). The *Frater Ambrosius* page faces the end
of the summary of the contents of the Bible and includes in its lower border the coat of arms,
as yet unidentified, of the first owner of the book (see p. 27).

[GW 4369; HC 3107; BMC III. 789; Goff B-592]

9. THE MYRROUR OF THE WORLDE, printed on paper by William Caxton
London, 1490
VK Inc. 020

The Myrrour of the Worlde is a product of the press of William Caxton (*c.* 1422–1491), the first Englishman to use the medium of the printed word in order to spread religious and secular learning in the English language. Based ultimately on the encyclopedic *Speculum naturale* of Vincent of Beauvais (d. *c.* 1264), *The Myrrour* is Caxton's own translation of the French version of Vincent's work that had been prepared for Jean, Duc de Berry (1340–1416). Caxton states in the preface that the book was commissioned and funded by Hugh Bryce, alderman of London, who wished to present it to William, Baron Hastings (*c.* 1430–1483), lord chamberlain to Edward IV. Caxton notes that he began his translation "ye second day of the moneth of Janyuer the yere of our sayd lord MCCCCLXXX/ in thabbay of Westmestre

VK Inc. 020, fol. 27r.
Woodcut of men
dropping stones
to the center of
the earth.
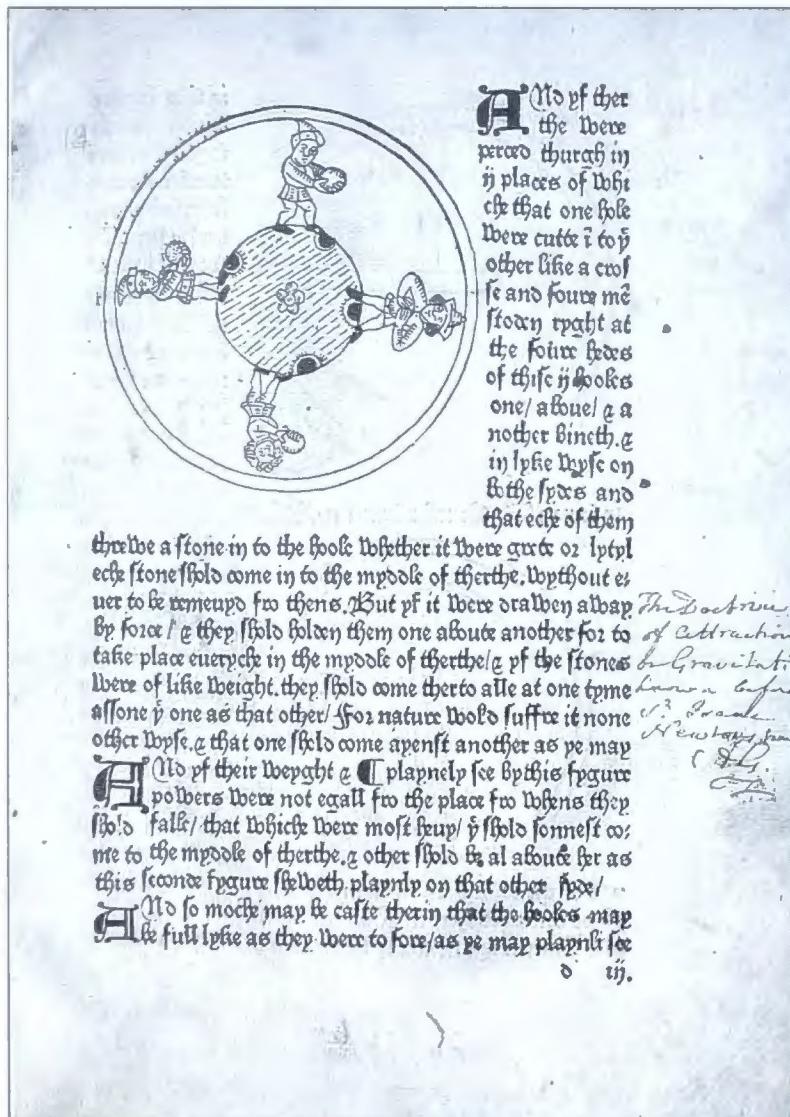
by londen." Caxton had established his press in the grounds of Westminster Abbey in 1476, having for the preceding three years operated a press in Bruges, where he had previously served as Governor of the Merchant Adventurers before deciding to take up the craft of printing. *The Myrrour* first appeared in 1481, and was reissued by Caxton in 1490.

The book comprises three parts. Part I describes the creation and the form of the universe, and the place of the earth within it, and includes an account of the seven liberal arts through which men can gain and transmit knowledge of the world. Part II discusses the different regions of the earth and their flora and fauna (including legendary half-human creatures like the dog-headed Cynocephali), and considers meteorological and other natural phenomena. Part III focuses on the superterrestrial world by discussing the nature of eclipses and the positions and nature of the moon, sun, and stars.

Some 30 woodcut illustrations assist the reader's understanding of the text. The 1481 edition of *The Myrrour* was the first book in which Caxton included woodcuts. Edward Hodnet, an authority on early English woodcuts, is not overly appreciative of this first English woodcutter's work. Of the woodcuts in *The Myrrour* he writes, "England stumbles on to the book-illustration stage with some of the poorest cuts ever inserted between covers. . . The blocks, all by one hand, are miserably executed. The outlook for English illustration could hardly be worse." Granted, the woodcuts do pale in comparison to early German woodcuts.

One woodcut depicts four men standing at four points on the earth's circumference, each holding a stone which he is about to drop into a hole. The text at this point describes how, if a passageway were cut through the earth and a stone were dropped from the circumference, "whether it were great or little, each stone should come into the middle of the earth, without ever to be removed from thence." Next to this passage, an eighteenth-century reader identifying himself by the initials 'A.G.' has noted, "The Doctrine of Attraction or Gravitation known before Sr Isaac Newtons time."

The Van Kampen copy lacks six original leaves for which there have been substituted replacements neatly written by an eighteenth-century hand, perhaps that of William Herbert (1718–95), whose ownership inscription appears on the front flyleaf; three of the replacement leaves bear the watermark 'S. IAY'. The original leaves have been copiously annotated, mostly by one sixteenth-century hand that simply copied in the margin significant portions of the text. At the bottom of the first page is entered, in script of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, the name 'R. Coutt' (or 'Couttes'), perhaps the first owner of the book.

[STC 24763; Hain 11656]
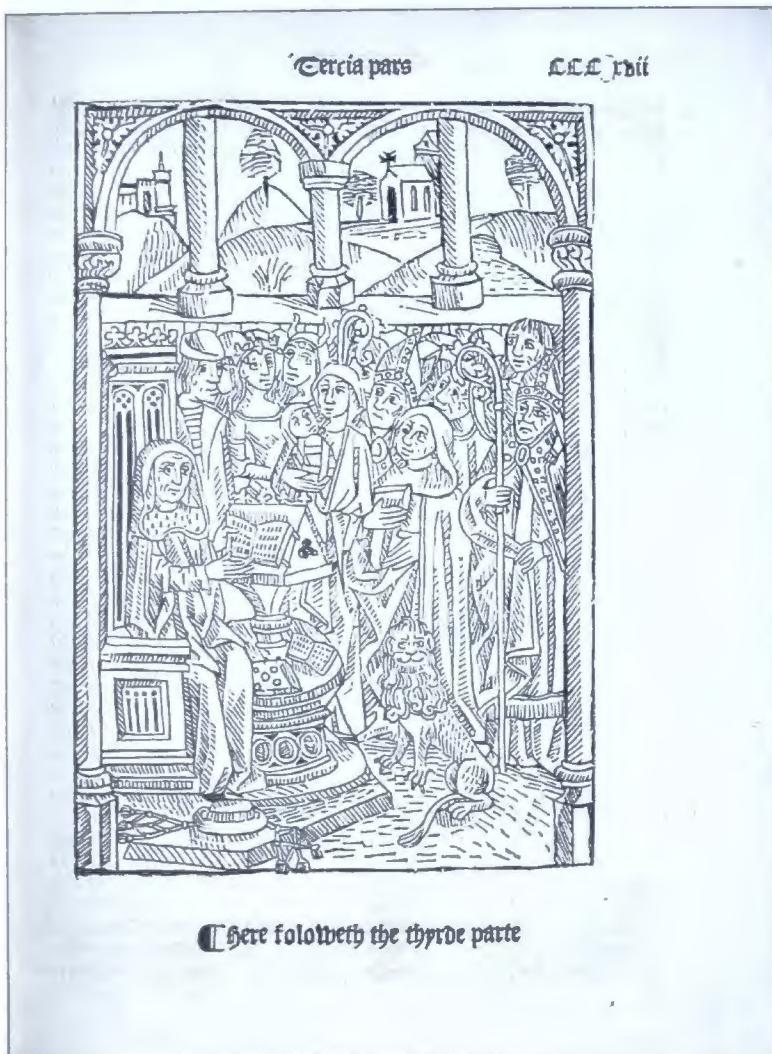
VK Inc. 695, fol. 317r.
Woodcut of St. Jerome,
his lion, and the saints.

10. THE LYFF OF THE HOLY FADERS, printed on paper by Wynkyn de Worde
London, 1495
VK Inc. 695

The Lyff of the Holy Faders, or *Vitas Patrum* as it is called on the title-page, is a collection of short, popular readings in English recording the lives of the early saints and Church Fathers. The preface states that it was translated by St. Jerome into Latin from Greek, and in a colophon the printer, Wynkyn de Worde, notes that it "hath be translated out of Frensshe in to Englysshe by Wyllyam Caxton of Westmynstre late deed, and fynysshed it at the laste daye of his lyff." Caxton, England's first printer, died in 1491, but it was not until 1495 that his translation appeared in print.

Wynkyn de Worde, a native of Wörth in Alsace, France, met Caxton while Caxton was printing in Bruges. It seems probable that de Worde came to England in 1476 to work for Caxton at the Sign of the Red Pale in Westminster. As Caxton's foreman, Wynkyn de Worde

inherited his business in 1491, but in all likelihood, Caxton had spent much of his time with translation and editing and had left the more technical matters of printing to de Worde long before then. De Worde carried on printing in Westminster until 1500, when he moved to Fleet Street in London to be nearer to the stationers and booksellers whose stalls were clustered in the neighborhood of St. Paul's Cathedral. De Worde printed at the Sign of the Sun in Fleet Street until his death in 1534.

Unlike Caxton, whose books were imbued with literary and aesthetic principles, Wynkyn de Worde catered to the populace. He printed cheap school books, popular devotional materials (such as the *Lyff of the Faders*), romances, dictionaries, grammars, and cookbooks. Sometimes he used roman types for schoolbooks, but he usually used English black letter fonts. In 1519, he was the first English printer to use italic type.

Some of the books he printed were printed well, but these often depended on translations, types, or woodblocks borrowed from Caxton. *The Golden Legend* (1493) and a reprint of *The Canterbury Tales* (1498) serve as good examples: both reuse Caxton types, and the Legend also reuses his woodcuts. Other books were very poorly and hastily printed, but they accounted in part for de Worde's prolific output of some 800 works — at least 363 of them illustrated — between 1491 and 1534. On the whole, de Worde's books had many more illustrations than those of Caxton.

Wynkyn de Worde printed *The Lyff of the Faders* in Caxton's font #8. There is no doubt that Wynkyn de Worde loved illustrations, but as H. R. Plomer points out, "he was utterly devoid of all artistic feeling," and was prone to ruin potentially good books by inserting poor and irrelevant woodcuts. The series of woodcuts in the *Lyff of the Faders* may be the first he commissioned, but it was never reused. The blocks were copied from the French edition of the *Vitas Patrum* edited by Nicolas Philippe and Jean du Pré, which Caxton had used for the translation, but according to Hodnet, these "jack-knife embellishments" were almost as bad as those found in *The Myrrour of the Worlde*. He writes, "The English cuts are with three exceptions all by the same man, who luckily did no other damage. He was wholly inexperienced, but he hacked away until he had copied forty designs. His complete inability to cut a clean curved line gives a jagged effect to every design." Each of the blocks was used about four times, to create a total of 159 woodcuts. One of the exceptions mentioned by Hodnet is a woodblock representing an abbot with a crosier talking to three monks. This block was almost certainly carved by a continental artist, and it reappears often. Another very rough cut was probably made in the shop to replace a broken block.

Most of the cuts are only one-column wide (about 87 × 67 mm.), but a full-page woodcut of St. Jerome reading with his lion and cardinal's hat at his feet and surrounded by the saints has been placed at the front of each of the four sections and at the end of the volume. The wide-eyed lion sitting bolt upright is particularly comic, a reader response the artist can hardly have intended. Despite the artist's want of craft, the artistic concept behind the woodcut is somewhat sophisticated: St. Jerome's reading about the saints is an act of devotion which opens the world of the book to the direct experience of the reader. An excellent example of this idea is found in a book of hours illuminated by the Master of Mary of Burgundy (Vienna, National Library, Cod. 1857). The miniature depicts Mary of Burgundy

at prayer; an imaginary window in her room looks into the nave of a church where the Virgin and Child are seated.

On the last leaf, de Worde reprinted Caxton's printer's mark — the initials **W** and **C** separated by a 'knot' possibly formed from old-style Arabic numerals. *Lyff of the Faders* also has a title-page of sorts (the title *Vitas Patrum* was simply carved in reverse into a wood block to create white letters on a black background) but the very presence of a title-page shows a movement away from the medieval notions of anonymity and towards the Renaissance ideal of texts with sources and personal authorship. *The Lyff of the Faders* exhibits this trend in several ways: the preface explains the Greek derivation of the Latin translation; the retention of the Latin title maintains ties to St. Jerome; the printing of his device pays tribute to Caxton as translator and England's first printer; and Wynkyn de Worde's colophon names himself as the printer. Such specification would have been very unusual in a medieval book before the invention of printing.

[STC 14507; Goff H-213]

11. HUMANISTIC BIBLE, manuscript on vellum
Italy, 15th century
VK MS. 793

The Italian Renaissance was characterized by a revival of interest in the glories of the classical past. This interest was partially fostered by humanist antiquaries and artists who shaped their works on classical models and, in so doing, revived older traditions.

From the late fourteenth century, scholars and collectors began searching through monastic libraries throughout Europe and beyond in order to uncover neglected classical manuscripts which they consulted not only for their texts, but also for the clarity and beauty of the decoration and scripts they contained. It became something of an intellectual fashion for noblemen and princes to employ dozens of scribes to copy these Carolingian manuscripts and thereby create great libraries. In copying the caroline minuscule scripts found in these books, these scribes and scholars gradually adapted their Gothic scripts to create clearer, more aesthetically pleasing hands known as humanist scripts. There is some question as to whether the early humanist scribes recognized that they were not copying the actual texts of the ancients, but rather the copies made by the Carolingians in the ninth and tenth centuries. Whatever their understanding was of the matter, their efforts preserved many classical texts that may have moldered away beyond repair in remote monastic libraries.

Several men following in the footsteps of Renaissance figures such as Petrarch, Boccacio, and Salutati were influential in the later development of humanistic books. Niccolò Niccoli (c. 1364–1437), considered the inventor of italic script, spent a small family fortune amassing a library. Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), a notary scribe at the Council of Constance (1414–17), scoured German monasteries for neglected manuscripts and perfected

VK MS. 793, fol. 197v.
White vine initial **B** for
Beatus vir, the beginning
of Psalm 1.
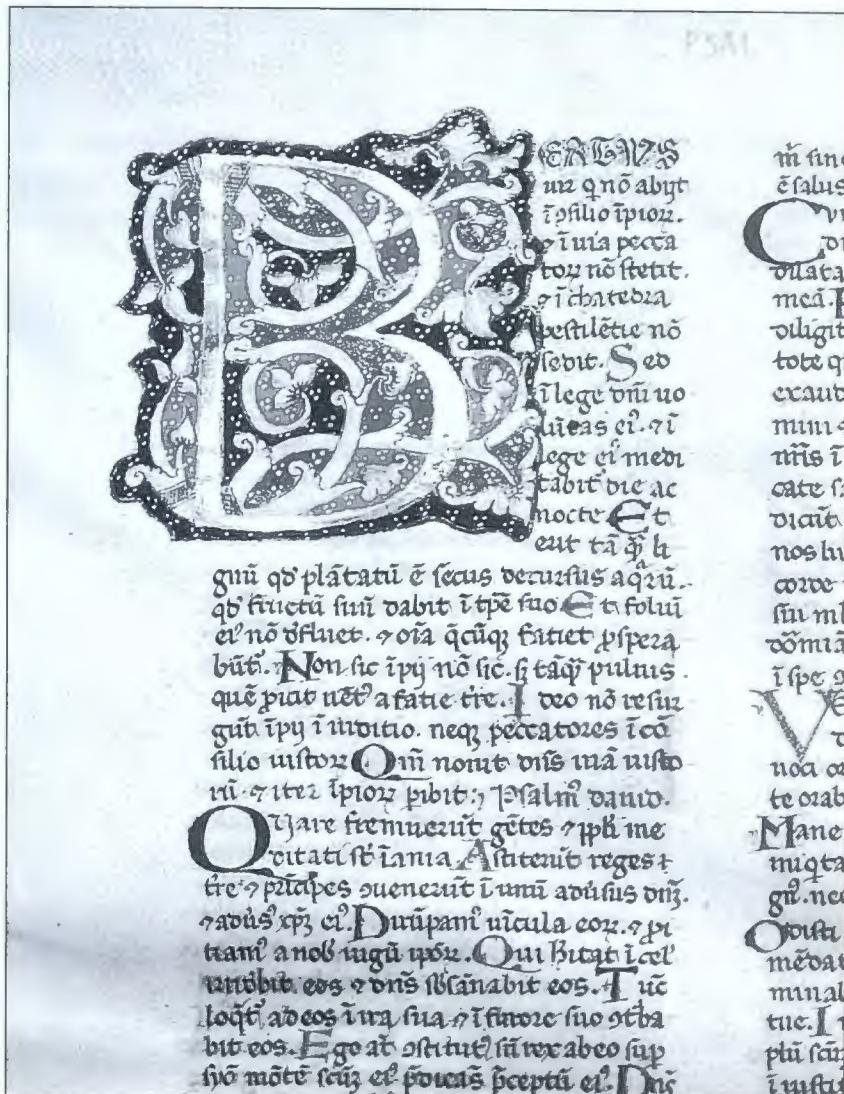
the humanist bookhand. Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464), the wealthy banker, began col-
lecting with aid of Vespaisano di Bisticci (1422–98), a bookseller, who from the 1440s was
able to cash in on the lucrative book market that catered to princes and rich laymen.

Early humanistic books differed from their Gothic counterparts in three fundamental
ways: they revived and standardized earlier techniques of book preparation; they were writ-
ten in humanistic scripts; and they were decorated using a modified twelfth-century artistic
style. From the first step of preparation, humanistic books diverged from Gothic books. They
were written on high-quality parchment which was ruled not with ink or lead, but with a
hard-point stylus, several leaves at a time. At the end of each quire or gathering, scribes often
wrote a vertical or decorated catchword (the first word of two of the next quire). A ten-folio
quire became the standard unit.

Although based not on Roman originals, but on ninth- to twelfth-century copies in caroline minuscule script, humanistic 'lettera antiqua' book scripts gradually evolved from unrefined imitations of earlier scripts to characteristic forms with rules of their own. The humanists copied the caroline script, adding breadth to individual letters, limiting variant forms, and giving the script a more vertical appearance. Characteristic forms include the two-compartment **g**, straight-backed **d**, ligatures between **ct** and **st**, and the use of the ampersand (**&**) for the word *et*. However, not all books were copied in the new humanistic scripts; liturgical books and Bibles continued to be copied in Gothic scripts into the sixteenth century.

The Florentine humanists, possibly led by Niccoli himself, also revived and adapted styles of manuscript illumination found in mid-twelfth-century Italian books. The prominent motif was a white vine scroll winding its way along a multicolored background. The earliest datable example of the humanistic revival of the white vine appears in a manuscript written by Bracciolini for Niccoli in 1402. Although the form was very rough, it was soon elaborated upon and perfected by artists, and the style spread rapidly throughout Europe. The vines developed from simple plants to borders inhabited with every sort of creature, including humans. Great fifteenth-century masters of white vine initials and borders include Filippo (Pippo) di Matteo Torelli, Ricciardo di Nanni, and Francesco d'Antonio del Cherico.

Written sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Latin Bible displayed here is an interesting blend of the old and the new. The well-spaced Italian Gothic script exhibits occasional hints of humanistic influences, in particular the trailing final **s** (second column, third line, last word) and an occasional open-bowled **g**. However conservative the script may be, the illuminated initials are purely humanistic. The characteristic white-vine initial **I** at the beginning of Genesis is topped with two human faces (possibly intended to portray Adam and Eve) (see p. 28). The dark line across several leaves is the spine mark of the animal. As is common with Italian parchment, the hair and flesh sides are quite distinct, with individual hair follicles clearly visible on the hair sides. Also visible in this copy are tiny guide letters deep in the inside margins which were added by the scribe to show the illuminator what letter to paint.

Humanistic manuscripts had important and lasting influence on Western book production and the renewal of classical scholarship. These books possessed a clarity that had not been seen in books for hundreds of years. It was the humanistic script on which early Italian printers such as Nicholas Jenson and Aldus Manutius based their fonts and thereby created the roman types used in books today. Humanistic white-vine decoration was carved in wood blocks and is still found occasionally in modern printed books.

[De Ricci 1132]

12. POLYGLOT PSALTER, printed on paper by Petrus Porrus
Genoa, 1516
VK 329

Genoa, a thriving center of trade and commerce in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had a large international population. Given this, it is fitting that the first of many polyglot (multilingual) editions of a biblical text was printed in Genoa. The *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum, & Chaldaeum, cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et glossis* includes parallel editions of the 150 Psalms in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Aramaic, and Latin. Alongside these are literal Latin translations of the Hebrew and Aramaic columns, and the eighth column is filled with scholarly textual notes and asides called *scholia.* The full title is printed in all five languages on the title-page.

The texts for the Psalter were edited by the Bishop of Nebbio, Agnostino Giustiniani of Genoa (1470–1536), but in a marginal note beside Ps. 78 he acknowledges the assistance of Jacobus Furnius, a distinguished lawyer who was 'second to none' in his knowledge of Greek, and Baptista Cigala, an orator and a 'very learned teacher' of Jewish letters. Giustiniani himself was familiar with the works of Hebrew exegetes and scholars and included quotations in his marginal notes printed in both Hebrew and Latin from scholars such as Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi), David Kimhi, and Josephus. In addition, he often culled material from the Commentaries of Haramban, and the *Midras Tehilim.* In the preface, he dedicated the book to Pope Leo X.

Printing of the eight-columned Psalter was finished in November 1516 by Pietro Paolo Porro of Milan, a resident of Turin dwelling temporarily in Genoa. The colophon records that the edition was printed in the house of Nicolaus Justinianus Paulus by means of the 'wonderful invention'. Oddly enough, there was no other press in Genoa in the early sixteenth century, and Porrus himself produced only one book there. It is surmised that Giustiniani brought him to Genoa for the express purpose of printing the Quintuplex Psalter.

Although manuscript polyglot Psalters of sorts had been written in the Middle Ages, no printed polyglot was published before the Quintuplex Psalter. Aldus Manutius of Venice had promised to produce a triglot Old Testament in 1497, but he only produced a specimen leaf for Genesis 1. In the early sixteenth century, the Complutensian Polyglot Bible was commissioned in Spain by Cardinal Francisco Ximénes, Archbishop of Toledo. Although completed in 1517, it was not circulated until about 1522 on account of a four-year printing privilege for Erasmus' 1516 Greek and Latin New Testament. It seems that competition from both the Complutensian Polyglot and the Erasmus New Testament discouraged Augustinus Giustiniano from completing the polyglot Bible he proposed in the preface to his Psalter.

In addition to exegetical and linguistic notes printed in the *scholia* column of the Psalter, there appears a note at Ps. 29 explaining the translation *naricornis* as opposed to the expected *unicornis* in the Latin text. The author of the notes explains that the word in Greek is *rhinoceros*, that the animal in question has two horns — one on its nose and a smaller one above it — and that he has recently seen a depiction of such an animal brought from India for the king of Portugal.

cum rege suo,& facienti bonum

MESSIE suo Dauidi,

& seminieius vsq; in eternum.

XIX.   In laudem.

Laudatoria Dauidis.

Qui suspiciunt celos enarrant

gloriam DEI,& opera manuum eius

annunciant qui suspiciunt in aera.

Dies diei apponit,& manifestat

verbum & nox nocti

diminuit & nunciat scientiam.

Nõ est verbũ lamentationis,& nõ sunt

sermones tumultus & non

audiuntur voces eorum. In omnem

terram extensi sunt effectus eorum,

& in fines orbis omnia verba eorum,

soli posuit tabernaculum,

illumiatiõe aũt i illos. Et ipse i mane

tanq sponsus procedes de thalamo suo

pulcherrime,& dum diuiditur dies

letatur vt gigas,& obseruat

ad currendam in fortitudine viam

occasus vesptini. Ab extremitatibus

celorum egressus eius,

dit,uti scripsit Faber
principio comentario
num suarum.
C. In omnem terram
exiuit filum siue linea
eorũ.eo intellectu quo
linea pprie significat
filum illud,quo mare-
riarii utũtur fabriad
signandam materiam,
perinde ac si dixisset
propheta.exiuit stru-
ctura sine edificiũ eo-
rum.
D. Et in fines mundi
uerba eorum,Saltem
tẽporibus nostris qbo
mirabili ausu Christo
phori columbi genu-
ensis,alter pene orbis
repertus est christia-
norumq3 cetui aggre-
gatus.At ueroquoni-
am Columbus freque
ter pdicabat se a Deo
electum ut per ipsum
adimpleretur hec pro
phetia.non alienũ exi
stimaui uitam ipsius
hoc loco inserere.Igi-
tur Christophorus co
gnomento columbus
patria genuensis,uili-
bus ortus parentibus,
nostra etate fuit qui
sua industria,plus ter
rarum & pellagi.ex-
plorauerit paucis mẽ
libus,quam pene reli-
qui omnes mortales
uniuersis.retro actis
seculis.Mira res,s3 ta

VK 329, fol. 25r.
First printed biography of
Christopher Columbus.
(Psalm 19, note D.)

Another long marginal note is considered to be the first printed biography of Christopher Columbus, who was born in Genoa in 1447 and died ten years prior to the printing of this Psalter. This account of his life and discoveries is placed beside Ps. 19.5 which reads, "and the ends of the earth will know of them." As the editor tells us, "Columbus himself had often mentioned beforehand that he had been chosen by God so that the prophesy might be fullfilled through him."

The Psalter is printed with Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and roman types. The 'Chaldean' column is the text of the Targum, an Aramaic paraphrase of the Psalms; surprisingly, the Targum has accent marks, a characteristic only of Iberian printers. This Psalter was only the second book to be printed using Arabic fonts; the first was a book of Christian prayers in Arabic, printed two years earlier by Gregorius de Gregoriis in Fano. The first Arabic font was possibly cut by Gershom Soncino, but the Genoa Psalter uses a different font. The Greek is accented, and the Hebrew is both accented and pointed (vowel marks have been inserted below the words). This unusual Hebrew font was first used in the 1470s to produce an

VK 329,
fols. 4v.-5r.
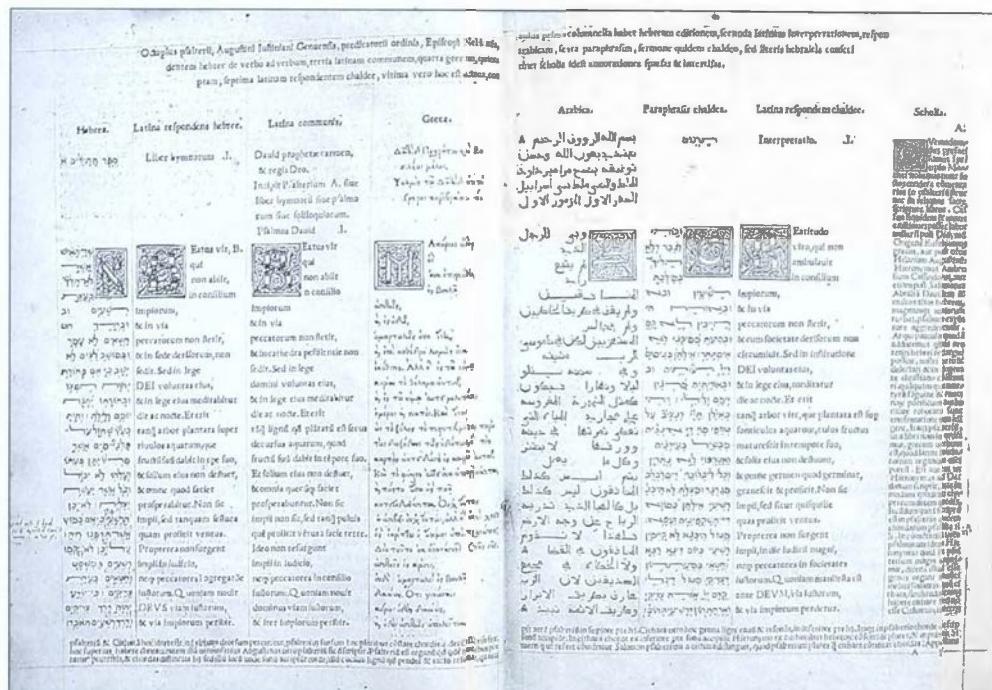
undated pointed Pentateuch. The *scholia*, or marginal notes, are occasionally in Greek, but appear primarily in Latin and Hebrew — something of a technical nightmare for the printer who had a restricted space in which to accommodate one language reading from the left and another reading from the right! It appears that Porrus set the non-roman characters first, and then abbreviated the Latin columns as necessary to fit into the remaining space.

Apart from the fairly standard woodcut initials in the prefaces and for Psalm 1, the only decoration is an elegant woodcut arabesque border on the title page. This design is heavily influenced by non-representational, geometric Byzantine art and Islamic *entrelacs*. This style of art must have been familiar in Genoa on account of its trade with the Levant and the Mediterranean.

[Adams B-1370; Isaac 13825; Offenberg 27; Sander 5957]

Abbreviations

Adams   H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600, Now in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge, 1967)

BMC   *Catalogue of Books printed in the xvth Century now in the British Museum* (London, 1908–)

DM   T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, 4 Vols. (London, 1903)

De Ricci   S. De Ricci with the assistance of W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935–40)

Hain   L. F. T. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (Stuttgart, 1826–38)

HC   W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum* (London, 1898–1902)

Goff   F. R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1964)

GW   *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig and New York, 1925–)

Isaac   F. Isaac, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum, 1501–1520* (London, 1938)

Offenberg   A. K. Offenberg, *Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections* (Nieuwkoop, 1990)

Sander   M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* (New York, 1941)

STC   *Revised Short-Title Catalogue of English Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 3 Vols., ed. A.W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, revised by Katherine F. Pantzer and Philip R. Rider (London, 1976-1991)

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